TWO DISCOURSES

Concerning the *ADORATION* of our

B. SAVIOUR

IN THE

H. EUCHARIST.

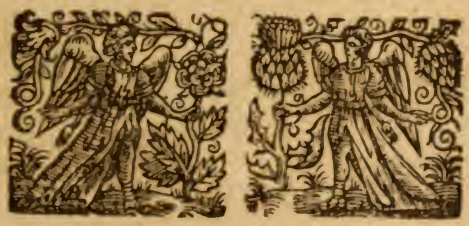
By Abraham Woodhead

THE FIRST:

Animadversions upon the *Alterations* of the *Rubrick* in the *Communion-Service* in the *Common-Prayer-book* of the CHURCH of ENGLAND.

THE SECOND:

The CATHOLICKS DEFENCE for their ADORATION of our *LORD*, as believed Really and Substantially present in the Holy SACRAMENT of the *EUCHARIST*.



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ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON THE

ALTERATIONS of the *RUBRIC* in the COMMUNION-SERVICE in the Common-prayer-book

OF THE

CHURCH of ENGLAND.

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON THE

ALTERATIONS of the RUBRIC in the

COMMUNION-SERVICE &c.

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2. *That,* naturally *Chriſt's Body cannot be at once in many places, tho* ſupernaturally *it may; and therefore is here denied to be in the Eucharist.*

1. *The truth of ſuch Exception is denied; ſince, if God can make the Eſſence, or Subſtance of a Body to be in more places or* ubi's *than one at once; he can make all the properties or qualities thereof to be ſo too.* §. 51.

2. *Admitting this Exception for true, as alſo the firſt, yet hence no foundation of denying Adoration due to Chriſt's natural Body as being in the Eucharist: which being granted by theſe Replies to be there, tho not after a natural manner, can be no leſs, for this, an Object of Adoration.* §. 52.

3. *That Adoration to Chriſt's Body as really preſent in the Eucharist is not denied, but only to any corporal Preſence there.*

If

1. *If so; The* Adoration *ought to have bin expressed how due, as well as a* Presence *denied.* §. 54.

Opposite Protestant Testimonies produced from the same Authors afford us no relief: since to free them from contradicting, either these here cited for Real Presence *must stand; or, those alledged for* Zuinglianisme *in opposition to the general Tradition and Doctrine of the* Fathers. §. 55.

Concerning the Rubrick of the *English* Liturgy.

CHAP. I.

A brief Narration *of the Alterations made in the* English *Reformed* Service *of the Eucharist.*

AFter that *King Edward's* former *Liturgy* had been cenſured by many, eſpecially foreign Divines, as not ſufficiently purged, and removed to a right diſtance from the former errors, and ſuperſtitions of *Popery*, in the fifth year of that King's Reign it ſuffered a Review and a new Reformation; and then, amongſt other things, this following *Declaration* in the Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper, for the explaining of the Intention of the Church of *England*, enjoyning kneeling at the receiving of the Communion, was *de novo* inſerted into it. §. 1.

'Whereas it is ordained in this Office of the Adminiſtration of 'the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants ſhould receive the 'ſame kneeling, (which Order is well meant for a ſignification of 'our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of 'Chriſt therein given to all worthy Receivers, and for the avoid-'ing of ſuch profanation and diſorder in the Holy Communion, as 'might otherwiſe enſue,) yet, leſt the ſame kneeling ſhould by 'any perſons, either out of ignorance and infirmity, or out of ma-'lice and obſtinacy, be miſconſtrued and depraved; it is here de-'clared, that no Adoration is intended or ought to be done unto 'any *Real* and Eſſential *Preſence* of Chriſt's natural fleſh and blood. 'For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain ſtill in their very 'natural ſubſtances, and therefore may not be adored, (for that 'were Idolatry to be abhorred by all faithful Chriſtians.) And 'the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt are in heaven, 'and not here; it being againſt the truth of Chriſt's natural Body, 'to be at one time in more places than one.

There were alſo certain *Articles* of Religion compoſed under King *Edward*, about the ſame time as the ſecond Common Prayer Book was. In one of which (the *Article* concerning the *Lord's Supper*) is found this explicatory Paragraph. —For as much as 'the truth of Man's nature requireth, that the Body of one and 'the ſelf ſame Man cannot be at one time in divers places, but

'must needs be in one certain place; therefore the Body of Christ 'cannot be present at one time in many and divers places: and 'because, as Holy Scripture doth teach, Christ was taken up into 'heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world; a 'faithful man ought not either to believe, or openly to confess, the '*Real* and Bodily *Presence*, as they term it, of Christ's flesh and 'blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

*Hist. of Q. Eliz. p. 124.

But in the beginning of Q. *Elizabeth's* Reign (who is observed by Dr. *Heylin* *, and others, to have been a zealous propugner of the *Real Presence)* upon a second Review by her Divines of the same *Common-Prayer-Book* it was thought meet, that this *Declaration* should be thrown out again, and so the Common-Prayer-Books ever since have bin cleared of it till the alterations therein made after the King's return in *A.D.* 1661. at which time it was reinserted.

The same Q. *Elizabeth's* Divines, in their Review of these *Articles* also, as they cast the Declaration out of the Liturgy, so did they expunge this passage likewise, being of the same temper as the *Declaration*, out of the *Article*; which hath bin omitted ever since.

§. 2. Again; whereas King *Edward*'s *former* Common-Prayer-Book useth these words, (as they have descended from Antiquity) in delivering the Eucharist, [*The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life,*] the Composers of the *second* in the fifth year of that King's Reign, suitable to their *Declaration*, which denies any real or essentlal presence of this Body in the Eucharist, thought fit to remove this forme; and put instead thereof only these words, [*Take and eat this* (left without any Substantive) *in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart with faith and thanksgiving,*] leaving out these words also of the former *Consecration-Prayer*, [*And with thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.*]

They omit also the *Priest's* touching or handling the *Patin* or *Chalice* in the Prayer of *Consecration*, required in the former Book done according to *Bucer's* directions in his *Censura* p. 468. whereby seems to be avoided the acknowledging of any Presence of Christ's Body and Blood with the Symbols: of which also *Bucer* saith *, *Antichristianum est affirmare quidquam his elementis adesse Christi extra usum præbitionis & receptionis.* For the same reason it seems to be, that the *Glory be to God on high* &c. and the *Benedictus*

Censura. p. 476.

qui

qui venit in nomine Domini, after the *Sursum corda*, the one is transferred till after the Communion; and the other omitted, differently from King *Edward*'s first forme: likewise whereas it is said in the former *Liturgy* in the Prayer of *Humble access*, — *Grant us so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood in these holy mysteries*; the 2d omits these words [*in these holy mysteries.*]

But the Divines of Qu. *Elizabeth* in their Review, as they nulled the *Declaration* in the Common-Prayer-Book, and purged the 28th Article of the forementioned explication; so they thought fit to restore the former ejected Forme in the administring of the Sacrament. [*The Body of our Lord* &c. *preserve thy body and soul*,] putting after it the latter forme, —[*Take and eat this in remembrance* &c. *and feed on him in thy heart with faith and thanksgiving.*] But then, the new *Liturgy* prepared for *Scotland*, and published A. D. 1637. rectifies and reduces many of the former things again to the first mode; first restores those words in the Consecration [*with thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless* &c, that *They may be unto us the Body* &c.] ordering (again) the Presbyter that officiates, to take the Patin and Chalice in his hands; and then takes quite away the words added in King *Edward's* second Forme in the delivering of the Mysteries [*Take and eat this* &c.] and instead thereof adds after the former words [*The Body of our Lord* &c] the People's Response [*Amen*,] according to the custome of *Antiquity*. (See *Dionys. Alexandr: apud Euseb. Hist.* 7. *l.* 8. *c.* —*Leo Serm.* 6. *de jejunio* 7mi *mensis.*—*Augustin. ad Orosium quæst.* 49.) spoken as a Confession of their faith, that they acknowledged that, which they received, to be *Corpus Domini*. [Of all which *Laudensium Autocatacrisis* heavily complains; observing —'That in the Consecration-'Prayer are restored the words of the *Masse*, whereby God is be-'sought by his Omnipotent Spirit *so to sanctify the oblation of Bread and Wine, that they may become to us Christ's Body and* 'Blood. From which words (saith he) all Papists use to draw the 'truth of their Transubstantiation. Wherefore the English Re-'formers [*i. e.* the latter in King *Edward's* dayes] scraped them out 'of their Books; but our men put them fairly in. And good rea-'son have they so to do. For long ago they professed that, about the 'Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament after Con-'secration, they are fully agreed with Lutherans and Papists, ex-'cept only about the formality and mode of Presence, [here quoting *Montague's Appeal* p. 289.] §. 3. n. 1.

Lastly, when the late Clergy A. D, 1661. being upon I know §. 3. n. 2.

not what inducements, ſolicited to receive the forementioned *Declaration* rejected in Q. *Elizabeth's* dayes, came to examine it, they judged meet not to publiſh it entire, as it ran before, but theſe words, [*It is here declared, that no Adoration is intended or ought to be done unto any Real and Eſſential Preſence of Chriſt's natural fleſh and blood*] they cancelled; and inſtead of them inſerted theſe, [*It is here declared, that no Adoration is intended or ought to be done unto any Corporal Preſence of Chriſt's natural fleſh and blood,*] as we find them in the preſent *Rubrick.*

§. 4. Having exhibited this general view of the Mutations, which have bin made in this Church in ſeveral times (according as different Judgments had the power) ſomewhat waveringly, it ſeems, in the things relating to ſo great an Article of Faith; I think fit now more particularly to reſume the conſideration of the *Declaration* about *Adoration.* In which are contained theſe three Obſervables.

1. Obſerv. 1. That here the preſent Clergy do profeſs expreſly, that *the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt are not in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Euchariſt.*

§. 5. 2. Obſerv. 2. That they urge, for this Non-preſence there, this reaſon or ground out of Natural Philoſophy, That *it is againſt the truth of a Natural body, to be in more places than one at one time*; here ſeeming to found their Faith in this matter on the truth of this poſition in Nature.

§. 6. 3. Obſerv. 3. In conſequence of theſe, they declare; that kneeling in receiving the Euchariſt (ſo much excepted—againſt by the Presbyterian) is meant *for a ſignification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Chriſt therein given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of ſuch prophanation and diſorder in the Holy Communion, as might otherwiſe enſue, but that hereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done unto any corporal preſence of Chriſt's natural fleſh and blood*; where they either leave this undetermined, whether there be not another preſence of Chriſt's fleſh and blood, as real and true as is the corporeal, to which an adoration is at this time due: or elſe do determine (as ſeems concludable from their former Propoſition, [*viz. that the natural Body of Chriſt is not there*] that there is not any ſuch real preſence of the Body at all, and ſo no adoration due in any ſuch reſpect.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Considerations on the first Observable; The Natural Body and Blood of our Lord not present in the Eucharist.

NOw to represent to you, as clearly as I can, the doubts and difficulties concerning all these three Observables in their order. As to the first of these; the Learned Protestant writers seem to me, at least in their most usual expressions, to have heretofore deliveredthe contrary; *viz.* "That the very substance of 'Christ's Body, that his natural Body, that that very body that 'was born of the B. Virgin, and crucified on the Cross *&c*, is pre-'sent, as in heaven, so here in this Holy Sacrament, either to the 'worthy Receiver; or to the *S*ymbols. §. 7.

For which, First see *Calvin*, whose doctrine amongst all the rest (the *Roman*, *Lutheran*, or *Zuinglian*) the Church of England seems rather to have embraced and agreed with, especially since the beginning of the Reformation of Q. *Elizabeth.* Thus therefore He, in 1 Cor. 11.24. [*Take eat*, *this is my Body.*] 'Neque e-'nim mortis tantum & resurrectionis suæ beneficium nobis offert 'Christus, sed corpus ipsum in quo passus est & resurrexit, [*Corpus ipsum in quo passus est*, that is, surely his natural body.] —Again, *Instit.*4.*l.*17.*c.*11.§. —"Facti participes substantiæ ejus, virtutem 'quoque ejus sentimus in bonorum omnium communicatione. [*Facti participes substantiæ ejus*, i. e. of his natural substance, for no other humane substance he had, spiritual or corporal, than that only, which was born of the B. Virgin, and that is his natural substance.] —and *Ib.*§. 19. —'His absurditatibus sublatis, quicquid 'ad exprimendam veram *substantialemque* Corporis ac sanguinis 'Domini Communicationem, quæ sub sacris cœnæ symbolis fideli-'bus exhibetur,facere potest, libenter recipio. —*Ibid.* §. 16. —Of the *Lutherans* he saith: —'Si ita sensum suum explicarent, *dum panis porrigitur, annexam esse exhibitionem corporis, quia inseparabilis est a signo suo veritas*, non valde pugnarem. §. 8.

And, to strengthen further this assertion of *Calvin*, may be added the Confession of *Beza*, and others of the same sect, related by *Hospinian*, *hist. Sacram. parte altera.p.* 251. —Fatemur in Cœna 'Domini non modo omnia Christi beneficia, sed ipsam etiam Filii 'hominis substantiam, ipsam, inquam, veram carnem, & verum il-'lum sanguinem, quem fudit pro nobis, non significari duntaxat, 'aut symbolicè, typicè, vel figuratè proponi, tanquam absentis §. 9.

me-

'memoriam : ſed verè ac certò repræſentari, exhiberi, & applican
'da offerri, adjunctis ſymbolis minimè nudis, ſed quæ (quod ad De-
'um ipſum promittentem & offerentem attinet) ſemper rem ip-
'ſam verè ac certò *conjunctam* habeant, ſive fidelibus, ſive infideli-
'bus proponantur. Jam vero modum illum quo res ipſa i.e. ve-
'rum corpus, & verus ſanguis Domini, cum ſymbolis copulatur,
'dicimus eſſe Symbolicum, ſive Sacramentalem : Sacramentalem
'autem modum vocamus, non qui ſit figurativus duntaxat, ſed qui
'verè & certò ſub ſpecie rerum viſibilium repræſentet, quod *Deus*
'*cum ſymbolis exhibet* & offert, nempe (quod paulo antè diximus)
'*verum corpus* & ſanguinem Chriſti; ut appareat, nos ipſius corporis
'& ſanguinis Chriſti *præſentiam in Cæna* retinere & defendere; & ſi
'quid nobis cum verè piis & doctis fratribus controverſiæ eſt, non
'de *re ipſa*, ſed de præſentiæ *modo* duntaxat, qui ſoli Deo cognitus
'eſt, & a nobis creditur, diſceptari. [Here they ſay, *rem ipſam*, i. e. *verum corpus & verum ſanguinem Domini cum ſymbolis copulari in Cœna Domini, modum vero eſſe ſymbolicum* &c.]

§. 10. Next to come to our Engliſh Divines. —Firſt—Thus Mr. *Hooker*, *Eccl.Polit.5.l.67.§. p.357.* — 'Wherefore ſhould the
'world continue ſtill diſtracted and rent with ſo manifold conten-
'tions, when there remaineth now no controverſy, ſaving only
'about the ſubject, where Chriſt is: —nor doth any thing reſt
'doubtful in this; but whether, when the Sacrament is admini-
'ſtred, Chriſt be whole within man only, or elſe his body and
'blood be alſo externally ſeated in the very conſecrated elements
'themſelves.

[This therefore was no doubt amongſt the divided parties in Mr. *Hooker's* judgment; *Whether Chriſt's natural body was only in heaven, or both in heaven and alſo in the Eucharist*, (for if otherwiſe) this is ſo main a doubt that he ought not to have diſſembled it.]

—Again p. 360. —All three opinions do thus far accord in one,
'—That theſe holy myſteries, received in due manner, do inſtru-
'mentally both make us partakers of the grace of that body and
'blood, which were given for the life of the world; and beſides al-
'ſo impart unto us, even in true and real, tho myſtical, manner,
'the very perſon of our Lord himſelf, whole, perfect, and entire. —
and p. 359. — 'His body and his blood are in that very ſubject,
'whereunto they adminiſter life, not only by effect, or operation,
'even as the influence of the heavens is in plants, beaſts, men, and
'in every thing which they quicken; but alſo by a far more di-
'vine and myſtical kind of union, which maketh us one with him,
'even as he and the Father are one.

Thus

2. Thus Bishop *Andrews* in that much noted passage, *Resp. ad Apol. Bell.* 1. *c. p.* 11. —*Quod Cardinalem non latet, nisi volentem & ultro, dixit Christus,* Hoc est corpus meum; *non,* Hoc modo hoc est corpus meum. *Nobis autem vobiscum de objecto convenit, de modo lis omnis est. De* Hoc est, *fide firma tenemus, quod sit: de,* hoc modo est *(nempe transubstantiato in corpus panem) de modo, quo fiat, ut sit* Per, *sive* In, *sive* Cum, *sive* Sub, *sive* Trans, *nullum inibi verbum est. Et quia verbum nullum, merito a fide ablegamus procul: inter scita Scholæ fortasse, inter Fidei articulos non ponimus. Quod dixisse olim fertur* Durandus, *neutiquam nobis displicet,* Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus. *Præsentiam, inquam, credimus, nec minus, quam vos, veram, De modo præsentiæ nihil temere definimus, addo, nec anxie inquiramus: non magis quam in baptismo nostro, quomodo abluat nos sanguis Christi: non magis quam in Christi incarnatione, quomodo naturæ divinæ humana in eandem hypostasin uniatur. Inter mysteria ducimus (& quidem mysterium est Eucharistia ipsa) cujus quod reliquum est debet igne absumi, id est, ut eleganter in primis Patres, fide adorari, non ratione discuti.* —Again, *Ib.* 8. c. p. 194. speaking of the conjunction of Christ's body with the symbols, he saith, —*Ea nempe conjunctio est inter Sacramentum visibile, & rem Sacramenti invisibilem; quæ inter humanitatem & divinitatem Christi, ubi nisi Eutychen sapere vultis, humanitas in divinitatem non transubstantiatur.* —And a little farther, —*Rex Christum in Eucharistia vere præsentem, vere & adorandum statuit.* And —*Nos vero in mysteriis carnem Christi adoramus, cum* Ambrosio *&c.* [Here is such a presence of Christ's flesh in the Eucharist acknowledged, as is to be adored; and this it seems no less the Bishop's Religion, than King *James's.*] §. 11. n. 1.

Add to this, that passage in *Is. Causabon*'s Letter written by the King's command to Card. *Perron*; who, when the Cardinal would have joyned issue with the King for trying the verity of the Real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist, in the King's name declines any such controversy, and saying that the contest was not about *rei veritatem,* but only *modum,* returns this reply p. 50. —*Miratur vero serenissimus Rex, cum fateatur tua illustris Dignitas, non* παρενσεβῶς *quærere vos, ut credatur Transubstantiatio, sed ut de præsentiæ veritate ne dubitetur, Ecclesiam* Anglicanam, *quæ toties id se credere publicis scriptis est testata, nec dum vobis fecisse satis*: and then, for explication of the doctrine of the English Church in this matter, recites the forementioned words of Bishop *Andrews,* —*Quod Cardinalem non latet* &c. §. 11. n. 2.

3. Thus Bishop *Hall* in his Treatise *De pace Ecclesiastica* for recon- §. 12.

conciling the *Calvinist* and *Lutheran* (which *Lutherans* undoubtedly hold the same natural body of *Christ* that is in heaven to be also in the Eucharist,) p. 78. —*Res apud utrosque eadem, rei tantum ratio diversa. Tantulum dissidium fatemur quidem non esse nullius momenti; tanti esse, ut tam necessariam orbi Christiano fratrum gratiam tam mirabiliter planeque divinitus coeuntem abrumpere debeat; id vero est, quod constantissime negamus. Neque nos soli sumus in ea sententia. Mitto Fratres* Polonos, Germanos, *nostrarum partium* &c. Then at last he brings in the decree of the Synod of the *French* Protestants at *Charanton*, in which the *Lutherans* are received to their communion, as agreeing with them *in omnibus veræ religionis principiis, articulisque fundamentalibus.*

§. 13. 4. Thus Bishop *Montague*, Appeal *p.* 289. —'Concerning 'this point of Real Presence, I say, that, if men were disposed as 'they ought, to peace, there need be no difference: for the disa-'greement is only *de modo præsentiæ*: the thing is yeilded to on 'either side, *that there is in the Holy Eucharist a Real Presence.* 'God forbid, saith Bishop *Bilson*, we should deny that the flesh and 'blood of Christ are truly present, and truly received of the faith-'ful at the Lord's table. It is the doctrine that we teach others, 'and comfort our selves withal. *p.* 779. *Of true Subject*: And the Reverend and Learned Answerer unto *Bellarmin*'s Apology cometh home to the Faith (or Popery if you will) condemned in Mr. *Montague*, who learned it of him, and such as he is. *Nobis vobis cum de objecto convenit &c.* —[He, you see, represents the difference between patties in the same manner as Mr. *Hooker*; i. e. none, as to the point of the presence of the same body here in the Eucharist, as it is at the same time above in heaven.]

§. 14. 5. Thus Archbishop *Lawd*, Confer. with *Fisher*, §. 35. n. 3. '—The worthy receiver is, by his faith, made spiritually partaker 'of the true and real body and blood of Christ, truly and really, 'and of all the benefits of his passion. You Roman *Catholicks* 'add a manner of this his presence (Transubstantiation) which 'many deny; and the *Lutherans* a manner (Consubstantiation) 'which more deny. —And upon [*truly and really*] he notes in the Margin *Calvin's* saying in 1 Cor. 11. 24. *Neque enim mortis tantum & resurrectionis suæ beneficium nobis offert Christus, sed corpus ipsum, in quo passus est & resurrexit.*

Ib. n. 7. *Punct.* 3. 'I hope A. C. dare not say, that to believe 'the true substantial presence of Christ' is either known, or dam-'nable Schism or Heresy. Now as many and as Learned Prote-

stants

'ſtants believe and maintain this, as do believe poſſibility of ſalva-
, tion in the Roman Church, *&c.* and *Ib. n.* 3. upon *Bellarmin*'s
words —*Converſionem Panis & Vini in corpus & ſanguinem Chriſti
eſſe ſubſtantialem, ſed arcanam & ineffabilem*, he ſaith; "that if the
'Cardinal had left out *Converſion*, and affirmed only Chriſt's *real*
[*by this he means* ſubſtantial, *as alſo is affirmed by the Cardinal*]
'preſence there, after a myſterious and indeed an ineffable man-
'ner, no man could have ſpoken better. and —§. 35. 6. *n. punct.* 4.
quotes alſo Biſhop *Ridley*'s Confeſſion ſet down in *Fox* p. 1598)
whoſe words are theſe. '—You [the *Tranſubſtantialiſts*] and I
'agree in this, that in the Sacrament is the very true and *natural*
'*body* and blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, even that which was born of the
'Virgin *Mary*, which aſcended into heaven, which ſits on the
'right hand of God the Father, *&c.* only we differ in *modo*, in the
'way and manner of being there.

6. Thus *Dr.Taylor*, one of the laſt who hath written a juſt §. 15.
'Treatiſe on this ſubject, 1. §. 11. *n. p.* 18. 'It is enquired whe-
'ther, when we ſay we believe Chriſt's body to be really in the
'Sacrament, we mean that body, that fleſh, that was born of the
'Virgin *Mary*, that was crucified, dead and buried? I anſwer. I
'know none elſe that he had, or hath; there is but one body of
'Chriſt natural and glorified: but he that ſaith that body is glori-
'fied, which was crucified, ſays it is the ſame body, but not after
'the ſame manner; and ſo it is in the Sacrament, we eat and drink
'the body and blood of Chriſt that was broken and poured forth;
'for there is no other body, no other blood of Chriſt: but tho it is
'the ſame we eat and drink, yet it is in another manner. And
'therefore when any of the Proteſtant Divines, or any of the Fa-
'thers deny, that body which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was
'crucified, to be eaten in the Sacrament, as *Bertram*, as S. *Hierom*,
'as *Clemens Alexandrinus* expreſly affirm; the meaning is eaſy,
'they intend that it is not eaten in a natural ſenſe: and then calling
'Corpus *ſpirituale*, the word *ſpirituale* is not a ſubſtantial predica-
'tion, but is an affirmation of the manner; tho in diſputation it be
'made the Predicate of a Propoſition, and the oppoſite member of
'a Diſtinction. That Body which was crucified is not that body,
'that is eaten in the Sacrament, if the intention of the Propoſition
'be to ſpeak of the eating it in the ſame manner of being: but that
'body which was crucified, the ſame body we do eat, if the
'intention be to ſpeak of the ſame thing in ſeveral manners of be-
'ing and operating; and this I noted, that we may not be preju-
'diced by words, when the notion is certain and eaſy. And thus

'far is the ſenſe of our doctrine in this Article. [*Here we ſee this Doctor becomes ſuch a zealous advocate of this Cauſe as to frame an anſwer to all ſuch ſayings in the Fathers, as may ſeem by the expreſſion to import*, as if the ſame body that was crucified were not eaten here by us in the Sacrament; *and defends the contrary.*] —Again §. 12. p.288. 'They that do not confeſs the Euchariſt to 'be the fleſh of our Saviour, which fleſh ſuffered for us, let them 'be Anathema. But *quo modo* is the queſtion *&c.* See p. 5. where he will have *ſpiritual* preſence [*his Book bearing this Title,* The Real preſence and Spiritual of Chriſt *&c.*] underſtood to be particular in nothing, but that it excludes the corporal and natural manner, [*not* ſpiritual *preſence therefore, ſo as to exclude* corpus Domini, *but only the corporal or natural manner of that body*]: now by excluſion of the natural manner is not meant (ſurely) the excluſion of *nature*, or of the thing it ſelf, (for, then, to ſay a thing is there, after a natural manner, were as much as to ſay, the thing is not there;) but the excluſion of thoſe *properties* which uſually accompany nature, or the thing. —ſee p. 12. where he allows of the term *ſubſtantialiter*; and of that expreſſion of Conc. Trid. *Sacramentaliter præſens Salvator noſter ſubſtantia ſua nobis adeſt.* —and in the ſame page he ſaith, when the word *Real preſence* is denied by ſome Proteſtants, it is taken for *natural*, and not for *in rei veritate.*

§. 16. 7. Thus Biſhop *Forbes de Euchariſtia*, 2.*l.* 2.*c.* 9. §. — 'An 'Chriſtus in Euchariſtia ſit adorandus, Proteſtantes ſaniores non 'dubitant. In ſumptione enim Euchariſtiæ (ut utar verbis Archie-'piſcopi *Spalatenſis*) adorandus eſt Chriſtus vera latria, ſiquidem 'corpus ejus vivum & glorioſum miraculo quodam ineffabili dignè 'ſumenti præſens adeſt, & hæc adoratio non pani, non vino, non 'ſumptioni, non comeſtioni, ſed ipſi corpori Chriſti immediate per 'ſumptionem Euchariſtiæ exhibito, debetur & perficitur. —And *Ib.* §. 8. "—Immanis eſt rigidorum Proteſtantium error, qui ne-'gant Chriſtum in Euchariſtia eſſe adorandum, niſi adoratione in-'terna & mentali, non autem externo aliquo ritu adorativo, ut in 'geniculatione aut aliquo alio conſimili corporis ſitu; hi fere om-'nes male de præſentia Chriſti Domini in Sacramento, miro ſed 'vero modo præſentis, ſentiunt. —Again 3. *l.* 1.*c.* §.10. '—Di-'cunt etiam ſæpiſſime ſancti Patres in Euchariſtia offerri & ſacri-'ficari ipſum Chriſti Corpus, ut ex innumeris pene locis conſtat, 'ſed non proprie & realiter omnibus ſacrificii proprietatibus ſerva-'tis; ſed per commemorationem & repræſentationem ejus quod 'ſemel in unico illo ſacrificio Crucis, quo alia omnia ſacrificia con-'ſummavit Chriſtus ſummus Sacerdos noſter, eſt peractum; & per

piam

'piam ſupplicationem, qua Eccleſiæ miniſtri propter unici illius ſa-
'crificii perpetuam victimam, in Cœlis ad dextram Patris aſſiſten-
'tem, & in ſacra menſa modo ineffabili præſentem, Deum Patrem
'humillime rogant, ut virtutem & gratiam hujus perennis victimæ,
'Eccleſiæ ſuæ, ad omnes corporis & animæ neceſſitates efficacem &
'ſalutarem eſſe velit. [Here is acknowledg'd 1. *Chriſti corpus in ſacra menſa modo ineffabili præſens.* 2. *Hoc corpus oblatum in Eucharistia ut ſacrificium Deo Patri.* 3. *Ipſi corpori Chriſti ut præſenti in Eucharistia miraculo quodam ineffabili, immediate debita adoratio veræ Latriæ.*]

8. Thus the Archbiſhop of *Spalato* much-what to the ſame purpoſe, *de Rep. Eccl.* 7. *l.* 11. *c.* 7. §.. 'Si ſecundum veritatem §. 17.
'qui digne ſumit ſacramenta corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, ille vere
'& realiter corpus & ſanguinem Chriſti, in ſe corporaliter, modo
'tamen quodam ſpirituali, miraculoſo & imperceptibili ſumit; om-
'nis digne communicans adorare poteſt & debet corpus Chriſti
'quod recipit; non quod lateat corporaliter in pane, aut ſub pane,
'aut ſub ſpeciebus & accidentibus panis; ſed quod quando digne
'ſumitur panis Sacramentalis, tunc etiam ſumitur cum pane Chri-
'ſti corpus reale illi communioni realiter præſens.

8. And thus Mr. *Thorndyke* in his Epilogue to the Tragedy, §. 18.
3. *l.* 3. *c. p.* 17. —'That which I have already ſaid is enough to
'evidence the myſtical and ſpiritual preſence of the fleſh and blood
'of Chriſt in the Elements as the ſacrament of the ſame, before
'any man can ſuppoſe that ſpiritual preſence of them to the ſoul,
'which the eating and drinking Chriſt's fleſh and blood ſpiritual-
'ly by living Faith importeth. —and *Ib.* 2. *c. p.* 10. 'when it fol-
lows, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh*
'*damnation to himſelf, not diſcerning the Lord's body*; unleſs a man
'diſcern the Lord's body where it is not, of neceſſity it muſt there
'be where it is diſcerned to be, *&c.* and 3. *l.* 23. *c. p.* 225. he ſaith,
'—that anciently there was a reſervation from communion to
'communion: and —that he who carried away the body of our
'Lord to eat it at home, drinking the blood at preſent, might rea-
'ſonably be ſaid to communicate in both kinds. Neither can
'(ſaith he) that Sacramental change which the Conſecration
'works in the Elements be limited to the Inſtant of the Aſſembly;
'tho it take effect only in order to that Communion, unto which
'the Church deſigneth that which it conſecrateth. —and 3. *l.* 5.
1. *p.* 44. —Having maintained that the Elements are really chang-
'ed, from ordinary bread and wine into the Body and Blood of
'Chriſt myſtically preſent as in a Sacrament, and that in virtue of

'the Consecration, not by the Faith of him that receives; I am to 'admit and maintain whatsoever appears duly consequent to this 'truth: namely, that the elements so consecrated are truely the 'sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, in as much as the body and 'blood of Christ are contained in them, *&c.* —and then *p.* 46. he farther collecteth thus. '—And the sacrifice of the cross being 'necessarily propitiatory and impetratory both, it cannot be de-'nied that the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in as much as it is the 'same sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, —is also both propitiato-'ry and impetratory. and 3. *l.* 30. *c. p.* 350. — 'I suppose (saith 'he) that the body and blood of Christ may be adored wheresoever 'they are, and must be adored by a good Christian, where the cu-'stom of the Church, which a Christian is obliged to communi-'cate with, requires it. —And *p.* 351. — 'Not to balk the free-'dom which hath carried me to publish all this; I do believe, that 'it was practised and done [*i.e. our Lord Christ really worshipped in 'the Eucharist*] in the ancient Church, which I maintain from the 'begining to have been the true Church of Christ, obliging all to 'conform to it in all things within the power of it: I know the 'consequence to be this, That there is no just cause why it 'shou'd not be done at present, but that cause which justifies the 'reforming of some part of the Church without the whole. [*Here is acknowledg'd* 1. *Presently upon Consecration a presence of Christ's Body and Blood with, or in, the Elements, before any presence of them to the soul by a living faith; of which body becoming here present, the unworthy receivers are said to be guilty,* 1 Cor. 11. 29. —2. *A permanency of this body and blood with these symbols in the reservation of them, after the assembly had communicated.* 3. *The Elements so consecrated, in as much as the body and blood of Christ is contained in them, affirmed to be truly the sacrifice on the Cross.* —4. *Adoration of this Body and Blood as so present, to be a duty, and anciently practised.*]

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Considerations on the 2d. Observable, That a natural Body cannot be in many places at once.

THis I had to represent, and these witnesses to produce against the first Observable; the profession made in this Declaration, *That the natural Body and Blood of Christ are not in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist.* It were an easy task here to back the testimony of these Writers with those of the Fathers to the same purpose; but I conceive it needless, since the same Protestant Writers here cited urge the authority of Antiquity, as a chief inducement and motive of this their Assertion. Now then to consider the second, the urging for such Non-presence, this reason; because *it is against the truth of a natural body to be,* or because a natural body cannot truly be, *in more places than one, at one time.* §. 19.

1. Here also, first, I find Protestants, and especially our English Divines generally to confess the presence of our Saviour in the Eucharist to be an ineffable mystery, (which I conceive is said to be so in respect of something in it *opposite* and contradictory to, and therefore incomprehensible and ineffable by, humane reason.) For this thus *Calvin* himself long ago in the beginning of the Reformation, *Inst.* 4. *l.* 17. *c.* 24. §. " Ego hoc mysterium minime ratio- ' nis humanæ modo metior, vel naturæ legibus subjicio. —Huma- ' næ rationi minime placebit [*that which he affirms*] penetrare ad ' nos Christi carnem, ut nobis sit alimentum. —Dicimus Christum ' tam externo symbolo, quam spiritu suo ad nos descendere, ut ve- ' re substantia carnis suæ animas nostras vivificet. —In his paucis ' verbis qui non sentit multa subesse miracula, plusquam stupidus ' est: quando nihil magis incredibile, quam res toto cœli & terræ ' spatio dissitas ac remotas, in tanta locorum distantia, non tantum ' conjungi, sed uniri; ut alimentum percipiant animæ ex carne ' Christi: [*Nihil magis incredibile*; therefore *not this more incredible*, that *Idem Corpus potest esse in diversis locis simul.*] —And §. 32. ' —Porro de modo siquis me interroget, fateri non pudebit, subli- ' mius esse arcanum, quam ut vel meo ingenio comprehendi, vel ' enarrari verbis queat. —And §. 25. Captivas tenemus mentes no- ' stras ne verbulo duntaxat obstrepere, ac humiliamus ne insur- ' gere, audeant. —Nec vero nefas nobis esse ducimus, sanctæ Vir- ' ginis exemplo, in re ardua scisciari, quomodo fieri possit? See more *Ibid.* §. 7. [*Naturæ legibus non subjicio, —humanæ rationi minime* §. 20. n. 1. 1.

nime placet, —quomodo fieri poteſt] —Surely theſe argue ſomething in it ſeemingly contradictory to nature and humane reaſon.

§. 20. n. 2. Thus King *James* of the *Euchariſt* in his anſwer to Cardinal *Perron* by *Cauſabon.* —'Myſterium iſtud magnum eſſe humano 'ingenio incomprehenſibile, ac multo magis inenarrabile, Eccleſia 'Anglicana fatetur & docet.

§. 20. n. 3. And thus ſpeaks Dr. *Taylor* in *Real preſence,* §. 11. *n.* 28. after that he had numbred up many apparent contradictions, not only in reſpect of a *natural*, but, as he ſaith, of an *abſolute*, poſſibility of Tranſubſtantiation, (from *p.* 207. to *p.* 337.) 'Yet (ſaith he) let it 'appear that God hath affirmed Tranſubſtantiation, and I for my 'part will burn all my arguments againſt it, and make publick a-'mends: [*all my arguments, i. e. of apparent Contradictions and 'abſolute Impoſſibilities.*] And *n.* 28. To this objection, "That 'we believe the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Incarnation, of 'our Saviour's being born of a pure Virgin, *&c. clauſo utero,* and of 'the Reſurrection with identity of bodies (in which the *Socinians* 'find abſurdities and contradictions) notwithſtanding ſeeming 'impoſſibilities; and therefore why not Tranſubſtantiation? He anſwers, that "If there were as plain Revelation of Tranſub-'ſtantiation, as of the other, then this Argument were good: and 'if it were poſſible for ten thouſand times more arguments to be 'brought againſt Tranſubſtantiation, [*of which ten thouſand then ſuppoſe that this be one, that* Idem corpus non poteſt eſſe ſimul in duobus locis] "yet we are to believe the Revelation in deſpite of 'them all. [*Now none can believe a thing true, upon what motive ſoever, which he firſt knows certainly to be falſe, or, which is all one, certainly to contradict. For theſe, we ſay, are not verifiable by divine power, and* ergo *here, I may ſay, ſhould Divine Power declare a truth, it would tranſcend it ſelf.*] —Again, in *Liberty of Prophecy*, 20. §. 16. *n.* he ſaith, "Thoſe who believe the *Trinity* in 'all thoſe niceties of explication which are in the School, and 'which now adays paſs for the doctrine of the Church, believe 'them with as much violence to the principles of natural and ſu-'pernatural Philoſophy, as can be imagined to be in the point of *Tranſubſtantiation. Yet I ſuppoſe himſelf denies no ſuch doctrine about the Trinity, that is commonly delivered in the Schools.*

§. 21. 2. I conceive, that any one thing that ſeemeth to us to include a perfect contradiction, can no more be effected by divine power, than another, or than many other the like may: therefore if theſe men do admit once, that ſome ſeeming contradiction to reaſon may yet be verified in this Sacrament, for which they call it

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an *ineffable mystery*; I see not why they should deny, that this particular seeming contradiction, among the rest, *of the same body being at the same time in several places*, yet by the divine power (I say not *is*, for the knowledge of this depends on Revelation, but) *may be*, so verified.

3. I cannot apprehend but that these Writers must hold this particular seeming contradiction, or some other equivalent to it, to be true; so long as they do affirm a *real* and *substantial presence* of the very Body of Christ to the worthy communicant here on earth, contradistinct to any such other real presence, as implies only a presence of Christ's body in its *virtue*, *efficacy*, *benefits*, *spirit*, &c. which is the *Zuinglian real presence*. For suppose our Saviour's body to be (as they will have it) only *naturally* or *locally* in heaven; yet if the *substance*, the *essence*, the *reality* of this Body (however stript of its natural properties, all such as being not the very essence of it, are removeable from it *per potentiam divinam*) be here on earth in the Eucharist, when it is also in Heaven, (be it here present to the *symbols*, or to the *receiver*, or to any thing else, it matters not:) we must affirm that this *essence* or *substance* of the same body at least is at the same time in divers *places*; or (if we will have this essence to be in heaven only, as in a place) in divers *ubi's*, which is every whit as seeming contradictory as the other. and whoever will grant, that an *Angel* by divine power may be at the same time in two several *ubi's*, cannot reasonably deny that a *Body* may be so, in several *places*; or in one *place*, and in another *ubi*. I say then, that this Proposition, [*that the same Body is at the same time in divers places*,] or another equivalent to it, must be conceded to be true, so long as we affirm the essence of our Saviour's body to be here on earth in the Eucharist at the same time, as it is also in Heaven; unless we defend one of these two things; either. §. 22.

1. *That this Body is both here and there by an incomprehensible continuation, as it were, thereof*, (which sounds somewhat like the *ubiquity* of some *Lutherans*) for which see the words of *Calvin* quoted before §. 8. *Res toto cœli & terræ spatio dissitas ac remotas conjungi & uniri* &c. words usher'd in by him with a *nihil magis incredibile*. [But then, as some seem thus to make Christ's Body that is in heaven, by a certain prolonging or *continuation* incomprehensible (as their expressions seem to import) to be joyned, upon an act of faith, to the soul of the worthy Receiver here on earth, whilst yet the same body is still only in heaven, and there no way at all enlarged in its dimensions; so why may not others as probably make the same §. 23.

ſame body that is in heaven, by a certain *diſcontinuation* ineffable, to be preſent here on earth, upon the act of conſecration, to the ſymbols or receiver, tho it be in both theſe places only the ſame body ſtill, and not multiplied in its eſſence? As the ſame *Soul* is totally in the Head and the Foot; yet this Soul not continued in theſe two places or *Ubi's*, neither by its parts, ſince it hath none; nor by two totals, ſince in both it is but one: and ſuppoſe one foot of this body doth ſtand in the water, the other on the land; the ſame Soul being totally in both theſe feet, conſequently will be totally in the water, and totally not in the water, but on the land. and ſuppoſe again the two feet cut off from the body, and yet preſerved ſtill alive, *i.e.* the ſoul, that did before, ſtill informing them *per potentiam divinam*, (which we ſee naturally done in many Inſects:) the ſame ſoul will be now, totally in the water, and totally on the land, without continuation (if I may ſo ſay) of it ſelf. And ſuppoſe again this body, which it informes, to increaſe to a much greater bulk; and the ſame ſoul will be now in many more places than formerly without any augmentation of it ſelf. And why the ſame things may not be ſaid of *Bodies*, when ſtript of quantitative dimenſions; or how far ſome properties of Spirits may be communicated to them, *(ſalva eſſentia corporis)* who can ſay? What our Saviour ſaid to the *Sadduces* reluctiug to believe a revelation concerning the reſurrection of the ſame numerical body, becauſe involving in it very many ſeeming contradictions, *Erratis neſcientes Scripturas, neque virtutem Dei*, may as well be ſaid in this great myſtery of the Eucharift.]

Matt. 22. 29

§. 24. n. 1. Or 2*ly*, unleſs we will explain our ſelves, that, by the *eſſential, real, ſubſtantial preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Eucharift, we mean only the preſence of the true and real effect, bleſſing, virtues*, of this Body, (as Dr. *Taylor* ſometimes ſeems to do,) but this is, after profeſſing with the higheſt in our *words*, a relapſing into *Zuinglianiſme* in our *ſenſe*. [I will ſet you down the Doctors words, (*Real Preſence* §. 11. *n.* 17.) where, after he hath ſaid, "that there is not in 'all School-Divinity, nor in the old Philoſophy, nor in nature, any 'more than three natural proper ways of being in a place, *circumſcriptive, definitive, repletive*, and that the Body of *Chriſt* is not in the Sacrament any of theſe three ways, (quoting *Turrecremata* for it) he replies thus to thoſe Schoolmen, that rejecting theſe three ways, do ſay, that *Chriſt's* Body is in a fourth way viz. *Sacramentally* in more places than one. — "This, ſaith he, is very true; 'that is, that the Sacrament of Chriſt's body is [*in more places than* '*one*]; and ſo is his Body [*in more places than one*] figuratively,

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'tropically, representatively in being [or *essence*,] and really in *ef-* 'fect and *blessing*. But this is not a natural real being in a place, , but a relation to a person. Thus he. But if thus Christ's Body be held by us, as to its essence, only *figuratively*, *tropically*, and *representatively* in more places than one; and *really* in those places only in its *effect* and *blessing*, what will become of our—*præ entiam non minus quam illi veram*, (see before §. 11.) if others hold the presence of Christ's very *essence* and *substance* in the Eucharist, we only the presence there of its *effect* and *blessing*?

Now as to the proper *mode* (which the Dr. here agitates) of Christ's Body being substantially in the Sacrament, whether it is *circumscriptive*, *definitive*, or some other way; it is true, that the Schoolmen do not all agree on one and the same. S. *Thomas*, *Durand*, and several others, deny the body of Christ to be either *circumscriptive*, or *definitive* in this Sacrament, and proceed to affirm that *Idem Corpus non potest, per miraculum*, or *potentiam divinam*, *esse in pluribus locis simul*, i. e. *localiter*, or, in the forementioned wayes, Circumscriptively or Definitively.

But you may note, 1. That they take *circumscriptive*, and *definitive*, in such a sense, as that these two do exclude, not only such a bodies being *ubique*, every where; but absolutely its being *alibi*, any where else; and that these modes of Presence would infer, that the same individual is divided from it self, (contrary to the nature of *individuum*, or *unum*,) if such body should at that time be any where else. See S. *Thom.* Suppl. q. 83. art. 3. ad 4um —and 3a q. 76. art. 5. where he saith, that that is *circumscriptive in loco*, 'quod nec excedit, nec exceditur. —And see *Durand*, his follower, in 4. sent. 44. d. q. 6. where he argueth very clearly thus: — "Exi- 'stentia unius corporis simul in pluribus locis implicat expressè con- 'tradictionem; quia illud quod est circumscriptive in distantibus 'locis oportet quod sit distinctum distinctione locorum; quia 'quicquid est circumscriptive in loco aliquo, totum continetur ab 'ipso, ita quod nihil contenti est circumscriptive extra continen- 'tem. Propter quod illa quæ sunt in distinctis locis circumscrip- 'tive, necessario distincta sunt; &, quia est contra rationem unius 'quod sit distinctum, ideo si unum corpus esset in pluribus locis 'circumscriptive, esset unum & non unum seu indistinctum; quod 'implicat contradictionem. §. 24. n. 2.

2. That they put a third way of presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, real and true, and tho not *per modum quantitatis dimensivæ*, yet *per modum substantiæ*,* which they say is a mode proper to this Sacrament, and such as hinders not the same body at §. 24. n. 3. Aqu. n. 3. 76 q. 5. art.

the ſame time to be *alibi*, elſewhere, and yet to remain, tho it be elſewhere, *indiviſum in ſe*; which the other Preſences, in their acception of them, do hinder. Of which thing thus *Durand* contends *, That Chriſt's Body is preſent in the Sacrament *ratione ſolius præſentiæ ad locum*, not *ratione continentiæ* either *circumſcriptive* or *definitive*. —and that *Quod eſt præſens loco hoc modo, poteſt eſſe ſimul præſens in pluribus locis*; *ſicut Angelus*, ſaith he, *eſt præſens omnibus corporibus quæ poteſt movere.*

In 4. ſent. 10. d. q. 1.

§. 24. n. 4. Mean-while other Schoolmen and Controvertiſts take liberty to diſſent from theſe. See *Scotus* in 4. ſent. diſt. 10. q. 2. and *Bellarm.* de Euchar. 3. l. 3. c. and it ſeems not without reaſon. For, why ſhould this their *Subſtantial* or *Sacramental* way (as real and true as any of the other) of Chriſt's Body being at the ſame time in heaven and in the Euchariſt, conſiſt with this Bodie's remaining *indiviſum in ſe*; more than the *circumſciptive* or *definitive* way, rightly underſtood, and freed of their limitations; or, why impoſe they ſuch a notion on theſe two ways, that they muſt imply an exact adequation of the place and the placed, or exclude it from being at all any where elſe; any more than the other Subſtantial or Sacramental way (which they maintain) doth?

Thus far I have ſtept aſide, to ſhew, that the Doctor receives no advantage here, for the denying the Eſſential or Subſtantial preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Euchariſt, from the difference in the Schools concerning the *Mode* thereof, whilſt all of them agree both in ſuch Subſtantial preſence, and alſo in Tranſubſtantiation.

§. 25. Conſequently to what hath been ſaid I gather alſo Firſt, that if we do not take *præſentia corporalis* or *præſentia naturalis* in ſuch a ſenſe as they imply the preſence of ſome *corporeal* or *natural* accidents or properties by divine power ſeparable (as ſome are, the eſſence ſtill preſerved, and who knows exactly how many: in which reſpect Chriſt's body is denied, as by the *Engliſh*, ſo by the *Roman* and *Lutheran*, Churches, to be in the Euchariſt *modo corporeo* or *naturali*:) but take them as they imply the *corporeal or natural preſence of the eſſence or ſubſtance* of this Body; thus will *Real* or *Eſſential* preſence be the ſame with *corporeal* and *natural*. And therefore theſe words [*Real and eſſential preſence*] ſeem as truly denied to be in the Euchariſt, by the firſt compoſers of the foreſaid Declaration in the latter end of K. *Edward's* dayes, as the words [*Corporal* and *Natural preſence*] are in this 2*d*. Edition thereof in *A. D.* 1661. I ſay the one, the *eſſential* or *ſubſtantial*, denied to be there, as much as the other, the *natural*: whenever this reaſon in both is added for it, *viz.* becauſe *Idem corpus non poteſt eſſe ſimul in diverſis locis.* For this

this reason seems necessarily to exclude the one, as well as the other, the *real* and *essential* presence, as well as *corporal* and *natural.*

Indeed the present Rubrick hath only these words, ["that no §. 26.
'adoration ought to be done unto any *corporal* presence of Christ's 'natural flesh and blood,] whereas that in King *Edward's* time hath these, ["that no adoration ought to be done unto any *real* 'and *essential* presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood,] the words *Real* and *essential* then, being now changed into *Corporeal*; and this seems to be done with some caution for the present Church her maintaining still a *real* and *essential* presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist; whereas those in the latter time of King *Edward* seem to have denied it. [For as the first dayes of this Prince seem to have bin more addicted to *Lutheranisme*, so the latter dayes to *Zuinglianism*; as appears in several expressions of Bishop *Ridley*, (see his last examination in *Fox* p. 1598. and his stating the first Question disputed at *Oxford* about the Real Presence,) and of *Peter Martyr.** When also this Question, *An Corpus Christi realiter vel substantialiter adsit in Eucharistia*, in *Oxford*, was held negatively; and when all those alterations were made in the Forme of the Service of our Lord's Supper (mentioned before in the begining of this Discourse) that might seem to favour any presence of Christ's Body in relation to the symbols.] But here I say, if the words of the former Rubrick, *real* and *essential*, were by the late Clergy changed into *corporal* on any such design, that so the Real and essential presence might be still by them maintained; then I ask here, how can the same reason be still retained in their opinion thus altered? For, this reason, [*that the same Body cannot be at once in several places*] as I have said, combats as well a *real* and *essential* presence, which they now would seem to allow; as a *corporal*, which they reject.

* See Disput. Oxon. 1549. fol 18, 67, and 88.

2. I infer; that let them express this essential or substantial presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, still defended by them, §. 27
how they please, by callng it *Mystica*, *Spiritualis*, *Symbolica*, *Sacramentalis*, or the like; yet if the presence of the Essence or Substance be still retained, they are eased no more thus, from maintaining, that *Idem corpus potest esse in duobus locis* (or *ubi*) *simul*, than any other party, which hold any grosser presence there. And therefore suppose, if you will, a body cloth'd with all its usual accidents of quantity and dimensions, and of quality (except you will number also this amongst them, to *possess but one place*, and except you will annex to *circumscriptive* or *definitive* the restrictions mentioned before §.24. n. 2.]; and it may no less (when such

is the divine pleasure) be, thus, at the same time in many places, than when stript of them: for the same seeming absurdities and contradictions follow, from an Angel's, or Soul's being at the same time in two distinct definitive *ubi's*, without any continuation (if I may so say) of its essence between these *ubi's*; as do follow from a body so qualified being in two circumscriptive places without the like continuation; as you may see in perusing the common objections that are made against plurality of places.

De Euchar. l. 3. c. 3. For as Cardinal *Bellarmin* presseth well to this purpose: '—Si 'quis objiciat aliam esse rationem corporum, aliam spirituum, is fa-'cile refelli potest. Nam ratio cur corpora non videantur posse 'esse in pluribus locis non tam est moles quam unitas. —Ideo au-'tem non videtur posse esse, quia non potest divelli a seipso: & vi-'detur necessario debere divelli ac distrahi a se, si ponatur in variis 'locis. Porro ista repugnantia quæ sumitur ab unitate rei non mi-'nus invenitur in spiritu quam in corpore: utrumque enim est u-'num, & a se dividi non potest. Quare perinde est in hac quæsti-'one sive de *Corpore* sive de *Spiritu* probetur, [*and I add*, sive de cor-'pore *essentiali*, sive de *naturali*.] The like things he saith of a Sacramental presence, and not *per occupationem loci*; so this presence be real. *Quæ realis præsentia*, saith he, *in tot Altaribus & non in locis intermediis non minus tollere videtur indivisionem rei, quam repletio plurium locorum.*

§. 28. This being said from §. 22. That, in my apprehension either these our *English* Divines must affirm this Proposition of *one body at the same time being in more places than one*, or some other equivalent to it, to be true; or must cease to assert any *real*, *essential*, or *substantial* presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist, contradistinct to the sense of the *Zuinglians*.

4. It seems to me, that some of the more judicious amongst them heretofore have not laid so great weight on this philosophical position, as wholly to support and regulate their faith in this matter by it, as it stands in opposition not onely to nature's but the divine power: because they pretend not any such certainty thereof; but that, if any divine revelation of the contrary can be shewed, they profess a readiness to believe it.

§. 29. See the quotations out of Dr. *Taylor* before §. 20. *n.* 3. And thus Bishop *White* against *Fisher* p. 179. much what to the same purpose. —"We cannot grant (saith he) that one Individual body 'may be in many distant places at one and the same instant, until 'the Papist demonstrate the possibility hereof by testimony of Sa-'cred Scripture, or the ancient Tradition of the primitive Church,

or

'or by apparent reason. and p. 446. —We dispute not what God 'is able to effect by his absolute power, neither is this question of 'any use in the matter now in hand. —That God changeth the 'Ordinance which himself hath fixed, no divine testimony or reve-'lation affirmeth or teacheth. There is a twofold power in God, '*ordinata*, and *absoluta*. One according to the order which himself 'hath fixed by his word and will, the other according to the infi-'niteness of his essence. Now according to the power measured 'and regulated by his Word and Will, all things are impossible 'which God will not have to be. —and p. 182. —Except God 'himself had expresly revealed and testified in his Word that the 'contrary [i.e. *to the common ordinance of the Creator*] should be 'found in the humane Body of Christ *&c.* a Christian cannot be 'compelled to believe this doctrine as an Article of his Creed upon 'the sole voice and authority of the *Lateran* or *Tridentine* Council. [*But if they were certain of such contradiction, then are they certain that there neither is nor can be such contrary revelation; and when any revelation, tho never so plain, is brought, they are bound to interpret it so, as not to affirm a certainly known impossibility.*]

Again, thus Bishop *Forbes* de Euchar. 1.l. 2.c. 1.§. censures those §. 30.
other Protestants, who peremptorily maintain that there is such a real certain contradiction. —" Admodum periculose & nimis au-'dacter negant multi *Protestantes*, Deum posse panem substantia-'liter in corpus Domini convertere, [*which conversion involves the putting* idem corpus simul in diversis locis.] 'Multa enim potest 'Deus omnipotens facere supra captum omnium hominum imo & 'Angelorum. Id quidem quod implicet contradictionem non 'posse fieri concedunt omnes: sed quia in particulari nemini evi-'denter constat, quæ sit uniuscujusque rei essentia, ac proinde quid 'implicet, & quid non implicet contradictionem; magnæ profecto 'temeritatis est, propter cæcæ mentis nostræ imbecillitatem, Deo 'limites præscribere, & præfracte negare omnipotentia sua illum 'hoc vel illud facere posse: Placet nobis judicium Theologorum '*Wirtenbergicorum* in Confessione sua, Anno 1552. Concilio *Tri-'dentino* proposita, cap. *de Eucharistia*, (vide *Harmon. Confes.*) Cre-'dimus inquiunt omnipotentiam Dei tantam esse, ut possit in Eu-'charistia substantiam panis & vini vel annihilare, vel in corpus & 'sanguinem Christi mutare. Sed quod Deus hanc suam absolutam 'omnipotentiam in Eucharistia exerceat, non videtur esse certo ver-'bo Dei traditum, & apparet veteri Ecclesiæ fuisse ignotum. After which the same Bishop goes on to shew the moderation also of some foreign reformed Divines herein, tho much opposing the *Lutheran*

and

and *Roman* opinion. " *Zuinglius* & *Oecolampadius* (saith he) ali-
' quoties, ut constat, concesserunt *Luthero* & illius sequacibus, ac
' proinde Romanensibus, (ut qui idem non minore contentione ur-
' gent in Transubstantiatione sua defendenda, quam illi in Consub-
' stantiatione sua) Deum quidem hoc posse efficere, ut unum cor-
' pus sit in diversis locis; sed quod idem in Eucharistia fieret, &
' quod Deus id fieri vellet, id vero sibi probari postularunt. Uti-
' nam hic pedem fixissent, nec ulterius progressi fuissent discipuli.
' In Coll. *Malbrunnensi* actione 8. *Jacobo Andreæ Lutherano* objicien-
' ti *Calvinistas* negare Christi corpus cœlesti modo pluribus in lo-
' cis esse posse, ita respondet *Zach Ursinus* Theol. *Heidelburgensis*:
' Non negamus eum ex Dei omnipotentia pluribus in locis esse
' posse; hoc in controversiam non venit, sed an hoc velle Christum
' ex verbis ejus probari possit? Itaque hoc te velle existimavimus,
' Christi corpus non tantum posse, sed etiam reipsa oportere in S.
' Cœna præsens esse *&c.* v. Urs. *&c.* p. 155. Idem *Ursinus* Action.
' ead. p. 153. Conaberis etiam ostendere (*alloquitur* Jacobum An-
dream) ' elevari & imminui a nobis omnipotentiam Dei, cum di-
' camus Deum non posse facere, ut corpus in pluribus sit locis, aut ut
' Christi corpus per lapidem penetret [*the like contradictions seem-
ing to* Ursin *to urge, both plurality of places to one Body, and plurality of
' Bodies to one place*]: " De quo responsum est, non semel, nunquam
' quæsitum esse aut disputatum, an *possit* Deus hoc aut illud effice-
' re; sed hoc tantum, an ita *velit.*— See more in the Author. To
which I may adde S. *Austin's* saying, *Cura pro mortuis*, c. 16. "Ista
' Quæstio vires intelligentiæ meæ vincit, quemadmodum opitulen-
' tur Martyres iis, quos per eos certum est adjuvari: utrum ipsi per
' seipsos adsint uno tempore tam diversis locis & tanta inter se lon-
' ginquitate discretis *&c. or whether this was done* per Angelica ministeria usquequaque diffusa, *shews this* Father *believed no impossibility of a Martyrs being* uno tempore in diversis locis.

§. 31. And from this reason of their uncertainty of such contradiction, whether it is real in respect of the *divine* power, it seems to be, that the Convocation of the Clergy in the beginning of Q. *Elizabeth's* dayes, both cast out of the 28 of the former *Articles* of Religion made in the end of King *Edward's* Reign, these words following: ["—Cum naturæ humanæ veritas requirat, ut unius e-
' justdemque hominis corpus in multis locis simul esse non possit,
' sed in uno aliquo & definito loco esse oporteat; idcirco Christi cor-
' pus in multis & diversis locis eodem tempore præsens esse non po-
' test. Et quoniam, ut tradunt sacræ literæ, Christus in cœlum fuit
' sublatus, & ibi usque ad finem sæculi est permansurus, non debet

quisquam

'quisquam fidelium carnis ejus & sanguinis realem præsentiam & 'corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in Eucharistia vel credere 'vel profiteri.] And also cast out this very Rubrick or Declaration out of the then Common-prayer-book; and also restored again the former forme in administring the Communion; [*The Bo- of our Lord* &c. *preserve thy body and soul,*] *and all this* (saith Dr. *Heylin)* lest under colour of rejecting a Carnal, they might be thought also to deny such a Real presence, as was defended in the writings of the ancient Fathers.*

*History of Reform. Q. Elz. p. 11.

And lastly, the late Clergy also in 1661, in that part of this received Rubrick or *Declaration* wherein they reject the words of the former, [*real and essential presence,*] as is said before §. 3. n. 4. seem to disallow the opinion of K. *Edward's* latter Clergy, and to vindicate still the *Real* presence: but then, they retaining still unchanged the last expressions of the former Rubrick, which affirm Christ's natural Body not to be in the Eucharist, and that upon such a ground as is there given, seem again to disclaim it; unless they will justify as seeming a contradiction as that is of *idem in pluribus locis simul*; which they condemn. A *contradiction*, I say; for I cannot discern, how this [*Christ's natural body is here, and is in heaven, and yet but one body,*] can be pronounced a contradiction: and this [*Christ's natural body is not here, but only in heaven, and yet this natural body is here most certainly received*] can be pronounced none. For if this can be justified to be part of their faith, that the natural body of Christ is not here in the Eucharist, but only in *heaven*; yet this is another part thereof, (see the former Testimonies §. 8. *&c.*) that the natural body of Christ is here in the Eucharist received. *It*, the *body* that was born of the B. Virgin, not a *grace* only, not a *Spirit* only, but *it* it self, for both *Hoc est Corpus meum*, and the general Tradition of the ancient Church, seems to have necessitated these Divines to this expression, and "—facti participes sub- 'stantiæ ejus virtutem quoque ejus sentimus in bonorum omnium 'communicatione, saith *Calvin*, quoted before §. 8. —Now if these things be so, then this expressing only of one part of their faith in this Rubrick, viz. *that the natural body is not here*, and the not mentioning the other part with it viz. *that the natural body notwithstanding is here received by every worthy communicant*, (it matters not after what manner received, so this manner deny not the presence of this body,) seems at least to betray their faith to a dangerous misconstruction, and to precipitate him, who hears such a confession, into *Zuinglianisme*. But if we would express our whole and entire faith here concerning this matter, it cannot be, but

§. 32.

but that he, who hears it, (obſerving that both Chriſt's body *is here*, for he really receives it; and *not here*, for it is only in heaven; in that it is both within him, and at the ſame time many millions of miles from him, and yet cannot poſſibly be at two places at once;) will preſently ſay with *Calvin*,* "S. Virginis exemplo, *Quomodo fieri poſſit?* —&—*Nihil magis incredibile*, —and then I ſee not what they have to anſwer him, but —*Myſterium*, —*Arcanum*, —*Miraculum*, —*Ineffabile.* And then how can they urge others (as they do here) with contradictions, and impoſſibilities, who go about to explain this ineffable Myſtery by *Idem corpus in pluribus locis*; and mean while maintain the like contradictions themſelves, deſiring to have *their* contradiction paſſed and currant, the *others* ſuppreſſed?

See before §. 20.

§. 33. To expreſs my diſquiſitions yet a little more fully, and to ſee if they can poſſibly find any evaſion (without retiring to *Zuinglianiſm*) from thoſe difficulties *themſelves*, with which here they preſs *others*. If they ſay, that Chriſt's body is really or eſſentially preſent in the Euchariſt, but they mean not to the elements, but to the receiver; and that not to his body, but to his ſoul; yet if they affirm it as much, or as far preſent to the ſoul, as others do to the ſigns, (as Mr. *Hooker* ſaith, *they differ only about the ſubject, not the preſence:*) do not the ſame objections, abſurdities, *&c.* (concerning Chriſt's being both really and eſſentially in heaven, and in the place where the Communion is celebrated) with which they afflict others for making it preſent with the ſigns, return upon themſelves, for making it preſent with the receiver? For if it be poſſible, that the body of Chriſt now ſitting at the right hand of God in heaven can, notwithſtanding this, be preſent in our ſoul, or in our heart in ſuch a place on earth; ſo may it *under*, *with*, or *inſtead* of bread in the ſame place; unleſs we ſay that they affirm not the real preſence to the ſoul, which the others do to the bread. But then theſe writers muſt not ſay that they differ only about the manner, or the ſubject of his Preſence; but the Preſence it ſelf alſo.

§. 34. If they ſay that Chriſt's body is really or eſsentially preſent in the Euchariſt; but they mean *ſpiritually*, not *naturally*, or not *corporally*; ſo ſay others, both *Romaniſt*, and *Lutheran*; i. e. not with the uſual accidents or qualities accompanying (where is no ſupernatural effect) the nature or eſſence of a body: but if they will extend *ſpiritually* ſo far as that it ſhall imply Chriſt's body to be there *really* and *eſſentially*, yet not to be there *quoad naturam* or *eſſentiam ſuam*; or Chriſt's body to be there, not *quoad corpus*; this is, by a diſtinction to deſtroy the *theſis.* A-

Again, if they say *really* and *essentially* there present, but not *locally*; so say the *Lutheran*, and *Roman* Doctors, i. e. *circumscriptive*, or by such commensuration to place, as bodies use to have in their natural condition: but if they will extend *locally* so far, as that they understand Christ's body to be there by no manner of *ubi* at all, not so much as *ubi definitive*, or so that they may truly say tis *hic*, so, as not *ubique*, or not *alibi*, where no Communion is celebrated; what is this, but to affirm, tis there so, as that it is not at all there? §. 35.

If they say *really* and *essentially* present, *by reason of the same Spirit uniting us here on earth, as members to it in heaven*: besides that thus Christ's body is no more present in the Eucharist, than in any other Ordinance or Sacrament, wherein the Spirit is conferred; such presence is properly of the *Spirit*, not of the *Body*; and advanceth us not beyond *Zuinglianisme*. §. 36.

But if at last they plainly interpret *real* and *essential* presence, by Christ's being *present* (in corporal *absence*) *to the worthy receiver in all the benefits and effects thereof*; Thus also they slide back into *Zuinglianisme*. Concerning which opinion the Remonstrants well discerning the difficulties, into which the affirming of a Real presence doth cast other Protestant parties, in their *Apol. pro Confessione sua, p.* 256. said; the *Zuinglian* opinion was "simplicissima, & ad 'idololatriam omnem evitandam in hac materia in primis necessaria. —& quæ a *Calvino* & illius sequacibus dicuntur, manifestam in se continere tum vanitatem, tum absurditatem; & ex isto 'fonte emanasse ingentem illam idololatriam *&c.* And upon the same terms the *Socinians* reject *Calvin's* doctrine; See *Volkelius* 4. *l.* 22.*c.p.* 316. "—Tertius error eorum est, qui Christi corpus sanguinemque re-vera quidem in sacra cœna a nobis comedi bibique 'existimant: verum non corporali, sed spirituali ratione hoc a 'nobis fieri affirmant. Cujus quidem opinionis falsitas vel hoc 'uno convincitur, quod non solum Christi verbis nequaquam continetur; sed etiam cum sanæ mentis ratione pugnat: quæ dictat, 'fieri non posse, ut Christi corpus tanto intervallo a nobis disjunctum in cœna re-vera comedamus. Idcirco & ille ipse [*Calvinus*] 'qui sententiæ istius author est, fatetur, se hoc mysterium nec 'mente percipere, nec lingua explicare posse. §. 37.

I find also a late Writer replying on this manner to his Adversary *W. H.* urging, "—That some of the Learned'st of the *English* Clergy confess the Holy Eucharist, after Consecration, to be 'really and truly our Saviour's Body; and therefore adore it; and 'for this cause disown the New Rubrick, which saith, *Our Lord's* §. 38. Roman Tradition examined. p. 12.

'*Body is in Heaven, and not on the Altar*; telling us, that they ac-
'knowledg the Thing, only dare not be so bold as the Romanists
'to determine the Manner, [*a thing said by Bishop* Andrews *and o-*
'*thers, in the former Testimonies.*] I find him, I say, returning this
answer, 1. To the *Rubrick.* '-That this new Rubrick is but the old
'one restored; [*where he might have done well to have considered by whom it was also ejected, before its late restorement in A.D.* 1661, *viz. by the English Clergy; and that within a year or two after it first appeared a New Additional in King* Edward's *second Common-Prayer-book.*] 2. To the *Persons.* "—If (saith he) you speak true of
'them, what regard should we have of the Judgment of such Cler-
'gy-men, as declare their assent and consent to all things contain-
'ed in, and prescribed by, the Book of Common-prayer, and Ar-
'ticles of Religion; and yet disown the Rubrick, and believe
'Transubstantiation, and adore the Eucharist as Christ's Body?
'Why do not you call such the *Roman* Clergy rather than the
'*English*, if they differ from you but only in a want of boldness to
'determine the Manner, whilst they acknowledge the Thing?
'What if a Bishop *Bramhal* will have the Pope to be *Principium*
'*Unitatis*, and take *Grotius* to be of the mind of the Church of
'*England*; (who would have *Rome* to be the Mistress-Church,
'and the Pope to be the Universal Governour, according to the
'Canons of Councils, even the Council of *Trent*;) must we there-
'fore stoop to such mens judgments? Or might you not as well
'tell us, that *Cassander* or *Militier*, yea or *Bellarmin*, were of your
'mind? *Thus He.* But if the acknowledging an essential or sub-
stantial presence of Christ's Body, or of his Flesh and Blood that
was born of the Virgin *Mary*, in the Eucharist, and with the
Symbols, tho the manner not prescribed, doth *Romanize* this
Clergy; Bishop *Cousins* is one of those number.* And it is much,
that this person, having read his book, (who also, which I much
wonder at, makes this his own opinion of an Essential presence
that of all Protestants) did not discern this; but hath in his Post-
script recommended for the satisfaction of others one so much
differing from his own Judgment; who speaks of this presence of
our Lord much otherwise than the Bishop, in this manner. *p.* 14.
"—That the Eucharist is Christ's Body and Blood representative;
'and not of such a Body as he hath now glorified, [*which he denies*
'*to be flesh and blood,*] but such as was truly flesh and blood, which
'he once offered; the *Benefits* of which Sacrifice are really given
'us in, and by, the Eucharist. And *p.* 15.—'That our Lord at
'his last Supper speaketh of a Representative Body and Blood, [*i.e.*—

* See the former Discourse concerning the Eucharist, §. 5. n. 2. &c.

in

'*in the words, Hoc est Corpus meum,*] when his Real Body was not 'broken, nor slain; nor his blood shed, till after. And --"I can scarce 'believe (*saith he*) that man, that saith he believeth, that they '[*the Apostles*] believed, that then they did eat Christ's very 'Flesh and Blood. *And elsewhere**, *to St.* Cyril's *words*, ["Do 'not look on it as bare bread, and bare wine, for it is the Body 'and Blood of *Christ*. For tho thy sense suggests this to thee, yet 'let faith confirm thee.] *he answers*, 'The Bread and Wine are 'not bare or meer Bread and Wine, but Christ's Body and Blood; 'as the King's Statue in Brass is not bare brass. *In all which we hear of the Benefits of our Lord's Body and Blood, and of his Sacrifice on the Cross, really given to us in the Eucharist; but nothing of his very Flesh and Blood really and essentially present there; a thing professed abundantly by Bishop* Cosins. * p. 57.

CHAP. IV.

Considerations on the third Observation: No Adoration intended or due to any Corporal presence.

THis from §. 19. I had to represent concerning the second Observable in this *Declaration*; the reason given there, *Why the Natural Body of Christ is not in the Eucharist*. I now proceed to the third Observable, where it is declared, *That no Adoration is intended, or ought, to be done unto any Corporeal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood.* §. 39.

1. Where First, as I think, that all grant a kneeling and adoration both of soul and body due to God the Father and Son, *for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ given in this sacred Solemnity to all worthy receivers*, as the *Declaration* hath it: so I suppose the present Clergy will grant, that if there were a Corporeal presence of Christ's natural Body in this Holy Sacrament, then Kneeling and Adoration would be here due also upon such an account.

2. Tho the *Corporeal* presence of Christ's Body, *i.e.* of its being there *ad modum Corporis*, or clothed with the ordinary properties of a body, be denied; as it is not only by the *English* Divines, but by the *Lutheran* and *Roman* (see below §. 48.): yet let there be any other manner of Presence (known from divine Revelation) of the very same body and blood, and this as real and essential (let it be called *Spiritual*, *Mystical*, or by what name you please) as if cor- §. 40

poreal; and then I do not ſee, but that Adoration will be no leſs due to it, *thus*, than *ſo*, preſent.

§. 41. 3. And thirdly to ſhew that the *Church* of *England* hath heretofore believed and affirmed ſuch a Preſence to *which* they thought Adoration due; I muſt (here alſo) ſet before you what I have met with in ſuch writers of hers, as are of no mean account.

§. 42. Of this then firſt thus Biſhop *Andrews* in anſwer to *Bellarmine*; where, the Cardinal collecting from K. *James's* alledging the Adoration of the Sacrament in the Church of *Rome* for a Novelty, that the King diſallowed *adorationem Chriſti Domini in Sacramento miro ſed vero modo præſentis*, the learned Biſhop (*Reſp. ad Apol.* 8. *c. p.* 195.) goes on thus, " Apage vero, Quis ei hoc dederit? *Sacramen-* ' *ti, id eſt, Chriſti in Sacramento.* Imo Chriſtus ipſe Sacramenti res, ' in, & cum Sacramento, extra & ſine Sacramento, ubi ubi eſt, ado- ' randus eſt: Rex autem Chriſtum in Euchariſtia vere præſentem, ' vere & adorandum ſtatuit; rem ſcilicet Sacramenti, at non Sa- ' cramentum; *terrenam* ſcilicet partem, ut *Irenæus*; *viſibilem*, ut *Auguſtinus*. [*Which Father the Biſhop had quoted a little before, ſaying, Sacrificium Euchariſtiæ duobus confici, viſibili elementorum ſpecie, & inviſibili Chriſti carne & ſanguine; ſicut Chriſti perſona conſtat ex Deo & homine, cum ipſe verus ſit Deus, & verus homo.*] ' Nos vero & in my- ' ſteriis carnem Chriſti adoramus, cum *Ambroſio*; & non *id*, ſed ' *eum* qui ſuper altare colitur. Male enim, *quid* ibi colatur, quærit ' Cardinalis, cum *quis*, debuit; cum *Nazianzenus eum* dicat, ' non *id*. Nec carnem manducamus, quin adoremus prius, cum ' *Auguſtino*: & Sacramentum tamen nulli adoramus.

§. 43. Again, thus Dr. *Taylor* in anſwer to that ſaying of *Ambroſe*, [*Adorate ſcabellum &c. per ſcabellum, terra intelligitur, per terram caro Chriſti, quam hodie quoque in myſteriis* [i.e. the *Euchariſt* or *Symbols*] *adoramus; & quam Apoſtoli in Domino Jeſu adorarunt.* " We wor- ' ſhip *&c.* (ſaith the Doctor,) for we receive the myſteries, as re- ' preſenting and exhibiting to our ſouls the fleſh and blood of ' Chriſt; ſo that we worſhip [*he means the body or the fleſh of Chriſt*] ' in the ſumption and venerable uſages of the ſigns of his body, but ' we give no divine honour to the ſigns.

§. 44. Again thus Biſhop *Forbes*, quoted before *de Euchar.* 2. *l.* 2. *c.* 9. §. —' An Chriſtus in Euchariſtia ſit adorandus, *Proteſtantes* ſaniores ' non dubitant. In ſumptione enim Euchariſtiæ (ut utar verbis ' Archiepiſcopi *Spalatenſis*) adorandus eſt Chriſtus vera latria; ſi- ' quidem corpus ejus vivum & glorioſum miraculo quodam ineffa- ' bili digne ſumenti præſens adeſt: & hæc adoratio non pani, non ' vino, non ſumptioni, non comeſtioni; ſed ipſi corpori Chriſti im-

mediate

'mediate, per ſumptionem Euchariſtiæ exhibito, debetur & perſi-
'citur.

Thus alſo the Archbiſhop of *Spalato.* 7. *l.* 11. *c.* 7. §. —"Si ſe- §. 45.
'cundum veritatem qui digne ſumit Sacramenta corporis & ſan-
'guinis Chriſti, ille vere & realiter corpus & ſanguinem Chriſti,
'in ſe corporaliter, modo tamen quodam ſpirituali, miraculoſo, &
'imperceptibili, ſumit; omnis digne communicans adorare poteſt
'& debet corpus Chriſti quod recipit: non quod lateat corporali-
'ter *in* pane, aut *ſub* pane, aut ſub ſpeciebus & accidentibus panis;
'ſed quod quando digne ſumitur panis ſacramentalis, tunc etiam
'ſumitur cum pane Chriſti corpus reale illi communioni realiter
'præſens.

And laſtly, thus Mr. *Thorndyke* argues for it, *Epil.* 3. *l.* 30. *c. p.* §. 46.
350. —'I ſuppoſe (ſaith he) that the body and blood of Chriſt
'may be adored wherefoever they are, and muſt be adored by a
'good Chriſtian, where the cuſtom of the Church, which a Chri-
'ſtian is obliged to communicate with, requires it. —This honour
'[*i.e. of worſhipping the body and blood of Chriſt*] being the duty of an
'affirmative precept, (which according to the received rule, ties
'always, tho it cannot tye a man to do the duty always; becauſe
'he then ſhould do nothing elſe:) what remains but a juſt occaſion
'to make it requiſite, and preſently to take hold and oblige? And
'is not the preſence thereof in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt
'a juſt occaſion preſently to expreſs, by that bodily act of Adorati-
'on, that inward honour, which we always carry towards our Lord
'Chriſt as God?

Now notwithſtanding this, whereas the late *Declaration* firſt §. 47.
ſaith, that *adoration ought not to be done to any corporal preſence of our Lord's natural Body*, as in the Euchariſt; and 2ly, That upon this reaſon, *becauſe the natural Body of our Lord is not in the Euchariſt*; and 3ly, That again upon this reaſon, *becauſe this Body being in heaven cannot alſo be in the Euchariſt*, i.e. in more places than one at the ſame time: therefore it ſeems clearly to deny Adoration due to Chriſt's body as any way preſent in the Euchariſt; contrary to the fore-cited doctrine, and contrary to the religion of King *James* and Biſhop *Andrews* publiſhed to the world abroad. Or at leaſt, in thus denying adoration due to a corporal preſence, and then not declaring any other preſence of Chriſt's body in the Sacrament that is adorable, when as ſuch a preſence they believe: it ſeems to betray the communicants to a greater miſcarriage in their behaviour, as to ſuch our Saviour's preſence at the receiving of theſe dreadful Myſteries; and to abridg this duty of that extent in which

which it had formerly bin recommended by this Church. This briefly on the third Observable.

CHAP. V.

Some Replies to the former Discourse.

§. 48. The First Limitation; The Natural Body of our Lord not in the Eucharist *modo naturali.*

TO conclude. Some Replies I can imagine to this former Discourse. Such as these. 1. To the first Observable abovesaid, §. 4. *viz. That the Natural Body of our Lord is not in the Eucharist,* that the meaning is, not, that It is not there in its essence, or substance at all; but only that the natural body &c. *is not there modo naturali,* or *ad modum corporis naturalis,* not there after a natural manner. And if the *Declaration* means only this, (for which see Dr. *Taylor* before §. 15. and in the former Discourse concerning the Eucharist §. 6.) I grant it a truth; but find all other parties, the *Lutherans, Calvinists,* the *Roman* as well as the *English* Church, agreeing in it. [For, for the *Roman* thus speaks the Council of *Trent* sess. 13. 1. *c.* —"Neque enim hæc inter se pugnant, juxta 'modum existendi naturalem Salvatorem nostrum in cœlis assidere 'ad dextram Patris, & nobis substantia sua adesse præsentem Sa-'cramentaliter, ea existendi ratione; quam, etsi verbis exprimere 'vix possumus, possibilem tamen esse Deo cogitatione per fidem il-'lustrata assequi possumus. *&c.* Thus *Bellarmin* de Euchar. 1.l. 2.c. —3, 5, c. 10.c. and elsewhere in that Treatise. —" Christum non 'esse in Eucharistia ut in loco, vel ut in vase, aut sub aliquo velo, 'sed eo modo ut panis prius; sed non ita, ut accidentia panis in-'hæreant Christi substantiæ; non coexistere aut commensurari 'loco; non esse, ita ut habeat ordinem ullum ad corpora circum-'stantia; non esse sensibile, visibile, tangibile, extensum; non ad-'esse mobiliter, extensive, corporaliter, [*as we understand this word to exclude not* naturam, *but* modum corporis.]

And thus Dr. *Holden* p. 316. —"Verum & reale corpus Christi 'profitemur esse in hoc Sacramento; non more corporeo & passi-'bili, sed *spirituali* & invisibili, nobis omnino incognito. *Spirituali,* i.e. as opposed to *corporali,* but by no means as opposed to *reali.* And as for the *Lutheran* I find this in the pacifick Discourses of Bishop *Morton,* Bishop *Hall,* and Bishop *Davenant* (see the 11*th.* chapter of his *adhort. ad pacem Ecclesiæ)* sufficiently taken notice of, and urged for lessening the difference between the several parties of the Reformed. —"Christum adesse signis, but invisibiliter, in-'tangibiliter, spiritualiter, ineffabiliter, sacramentaliter, modo su-'pernaturali, rationi humanæ incomprehensibili, cœlesti, Deo soli

noto.

'noto. —Again, (about oral manducation in this his presence with the signs) —" recipi quidem ore, sed participari modo di-'vino, admirabili, inscrutabili; non atteri dentibus, non dividi, 'partiri, frangi: per *substantialiter, corporaliter, oraliter,* nihil ali-'ud significari nisi veram manducationem; non physicam, non 'esse cibum corruptibilem, sed spiritualem; manducari a fidelibus, 'non ad corpus nutriendum, [i. e. *materially,*] sed ad animam su-'stentandam &c. *Therefore do they, as others, detest the* Capernaitan *error.*

To these I may add what Bishop *Forbes* saith, *de Euchar. l.*1. *c.* 1. '28.§. —Nemo sanæ mentis Christum de cœlo, vel de dextra Patris 'descendere visibiliter aut invisibiliter, ut in cœna vel signis loca-'liter (i.e. per modum corporis) adsit, existimat. Fideles omnes 'unanimi consensu, & uno ore profitentur, se firmiter retinere ar-'ticulos fidei [*ascendit in cœlos, sedet ad dextram Patris*:] & modum 'hujus præsentiæ credere se non esse naturalem, corporalem, car-'nalem, localem, per se &c. sed absque ulla cœlorum desertione, sed 'supernaturalem &c.

But then, besides that the Proposition, carrying such a meaning, had need to be altered in the expression (these two being very different, *the natural body is not here*, and *the natural body is here, but not after a natural mode*:) the Reason which follows, and is given to confirm it, hindreth me from thinking, that the present Clergy so understands it, *viz.* this Reason given, That Christ's natural body is not there, *because it is against the truth of Christ's natural body to be* (which seems all one as if it said, Christ's natural body cannot be) *at one time in more places than one.* But if they hold the natural body to be there, as well as in heaven; this its being there (tho there *modo non naturali*) overthrows this Reason, by its being still in two places the same time, in one, *modo naturali*; in the other, *modo non naturali.* §. 49.

To the 2d. Observable, *the Reason given.* It may be said also, That it is against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be *modo naturali*, or *ad modum corporis naturalis*, in more places than one at once; but yet that, *modo non naturali*, it might by the divine power be rendred in divers places at once: and therefore that this natural Body (*absolutely* speaking) is not denied to be also in the Eucharist, and not only in Heaven. §. 50. The 2d. Limitation; A Natural Body not in many places at once *modo naturali.*

1. But here also first, I do not see any truth in such a gloss, for that which hath been said before §. 27- For if (it not implying a true contradiction) God by his divine power can make the *essence* or substance of a body to be in more places or *ubi's* than one at once; §. 51.

once; he can make all the ſame *properties* or qualities thereof to be ſo too. For I ſee not how there can be more difficulty or contradiction, to make one and the ſame quantity or quality to be in two places at once, than to make one and the ſame natural ſubſtance: nor why more, to make the ſame natural ſubſtance of a *body* to be *circumſcriptive* in two places, than the ſame Angel *definitive*; both of theſe being finite, and having certain limits of their eſſence, out of which their eſſence naturally is not.

§. 52. 2. Admitting this Gloſs for true, as alſo that made upon the firſt Obſervable, §. 48. yet I ſee not how theſe two aſſertions in the *Declaration* (§. 4. 5.) if they be thus underſtood, can afford any foundation for the 3d. aſſertion for which they are urged, viz. *That no Adoration is due to Chriſt's natural Body as being in the Euchariſt*: which natural Body being granted by theſe gloſſes to be there, tho not after a natural manner, yet can be no leſs, for this, an object of Adoration.

§. 53. The 3d. Limitation; Adoration not denied to Chriſt's Body as really or eſſentially, but only as *corporally preſent.*

3. To the 3d. Obſervable concerning *Adoration*, it may be ſaid; That *Adoration to Chriſt's Body, as really and eſſentially preſent in the Euchariſt, is not denied*; but only as to any *corporal preſence* of it there, (which ſeems alſo to be the cauſe, that the Revivers of this *Rubrick* changed here the words of the former, [No Adoration ought to be done to the *real and eſſential*] into [No Adoration ought to be done to the *corporal preſence.*]

§. 54. 1. Yet methinks here alſo firſt, they ſhould have more clearly expreſſed this, to prevent ſuch a miſapprehenſion. 2. Adoration being granted due in one way, as not due in another; and Chriſt's natural Body being granted preſent one way, as not preſent in another: me thinks the former ſhould have bin expreſſed as much or more, than the latter; and the whole frame of the *Declaration* have bin changed thus, according to the true meaning of thoſe who received it; *viz.* 'That Adoration is intended and ought to 'be done, tho not to the Sacramental bread and wine there bodily 'received, becauſe the Sacramental bread and wine remain ſtill in 'their very natural ſubſtances, and therefore may not be adored; 'yet ought to be done to the real and eſſential preſence of Chriſt's 'natural fleſh and blood: becauſe the natural Body and Blood of 'our Saviour Chriſt are not only in Heaven, but alſo truly in the 'Euchariſt; it being not againſt the truth of Chriſt's natural Bo'dy, (if not after a *natural* manner, yet) in its true reality and eſ'ſence, after ſome other manner effected ſupernaturally by divine 'power, to be at one time in more places than one.

§. 55. Laſtly, in oppoſition to the *Proteſtant* Teſtimonies here produced,

duced, perhaps ſome other may be collected out of the ſame Authors that ſeem to qualify theſe here ſet down, and better to ſuit with the expreſſions of this *Declaration.* But neither will this afford any relief. For to free them from a real contradiction, the ſenſe of the others reduced to thoſe here cited will leave all things in the ſame ſtate; or elſe the ſenſe of theſe accommodated to others will appear to abett no more than bare *Zuinglianiſm,* [i. e. *an abſolute non-preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Euchariſt, ſave only in its vertue, and effects, and the preſence of his Spirit, &c.*] and to oppoſe and deſtroy the general Tradition and Doctrine of the Fathers.

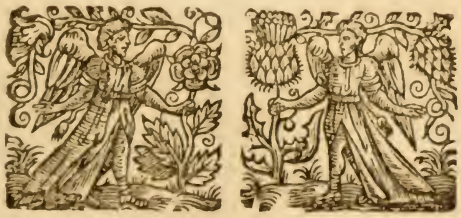
FINIS.

F

THE

CATHOLICKS DEFENCE,

For their ADORATION of the *Body* and *Blood* of our *LORD*, As believed Really and Subſtantially preſent in the Holy Sacrament of the *EUCHARIST*.



At OXFORD, Printed *Anno* 1687.

THESES of Adoration of the *EUCHARIST.*

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Ca-

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6. *Supposing both the former Opinions errors, and (indeed) no Presence of Christ's body with the Symbols at all; yet such Adoration by the one, or the other of Christ (who is a true object of su reme Adoration, and only mistaken by them to be where he is not) cannot be termed such Idolatry, as is the professed worshipping of an Object not at all adorable.* §. 21.

7. *Whatever Idolatry it is called in a Manichean worshipping Christ in the Sun, or in an Israelite worshipping God in the Calves at* Dan *and* Bethel, *because adoring a fancy of their own, (and a good intention grounded on a culpable ignorance excuseth none from Idolatry;) yet since* Daillè, *and perhaps others, allows a reasonable (tho mistaken) ground of Adoration sufficient for avoiding the just imputation of Idolatry; hence if Catholicks can produce a rational ground*

of

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Ca-

CATHOLICK Theſes,

Concerning the

ADORATION of Chriſt's *Body* and *Blood* in the EUCHARIST.

CONcerning the Adoration of Chriſt's Body and Blood, and ſo of his Divine Perſon, as preſent in the Euchariſt, 1. I ſhall ſhew, *what in reaſon is or muſt be conceded by Proteſtants.* 2. Examine *what Catholicks maintain.* §. 1.

1. I ſuppoſe a general precept of giving *ſupreme and divine adoration to our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*: And, that as Affirmative precepts (ſuch as this is) do not oblige to every time, and place; ſo, if they are unlimited and general, they warrant the lawfulneſs of our practice of them in any time or place; nor is there any need of any particular divine command in reſpect of theſe (i.e. *places* and *times,*) without which command we may not obey them. [For, what abſurdities would follow hence? For, was our Saviour, when on earth, never lawfully worſhipped, but in place, or time, firſt commanded? Nor then, when he ſhewed and preſented himſelf to them for ſome other purpoſe, than for adoration? as to teach them, to ſuffer for them, *&c.* Might not the *Magi* worſhip him lying in the Cratch, diveſted of all appearance of Majeſty, without a ſpecial command from God?] But it is ſufficient to warrant our practice of them; if, in reſpect of ſuch time, and place, there be no expreſs prohibition. *Suppoſitions.*

2. I ſuppoſe; that, *where ever the Body of our Lord is, there is his whole perſon*; it being no more ſince his Reſurrection to be a dead body, (for *Chriſt dieth no more*, Rom. 6.9.); but having the Soul joyned with it: as likewiſe, ever ſince the Incarnation, having alſo its *hypoſtaſis* or ſubſiſtence from the Divinity joyned with it; even when it was in the Grave, and the Soul ſevered from it. §. 2.

3. I ſuppoſe, it is a thing granted alſo by learned Proteſtants, that, *where ever this Body of our Lord is preſent, there this Divine Perſon is ſupremely adorable:* As the Divinity every where preſent is every where adorable, and may be ſo adored in the preſence or §. 3.

 before

before any of his Creatures ; if ſuch adoration be directed to *him*, not *it*, (as, when I ſee the Sun riſing, I may lawfully fall down on my knees, and bleſs the Omnipotent Creator of it ; and ſee 1 *Cor.* 14.24,25.) *may be*, I ſay, but not, *muſt* : for, where there is only ſuch a general preſence of the Divinity, as is in every *time*, *place*, and *thing* ; here our Adoration may and muſt be diſpenſed with, as to ſome times, and places.

None likewiſe can deny, that the Humanity of our Lord alſo, in a notion abſtractive from the Divinity perſonally united to it, is truly adorable ; tho this with a worſhip not exceeding that due to a Creature.

§. 4, [For the lawfulneſs of Adoration, where ever is ſuch a preſence of the perſon of our Lord, ſee Biſhop *Andrews*, *Reſp. ad Apol. p.* 195. 'Chriſtus ipſe Sacramenti res [ſive] in & cum Sacramento, ſive 'extra & ſine Sacramento, ubi-ubi eſt, adorandus eſt.

Apo'. des Eglis : Reform. c. 10. Thus alſo *Daillè*, *Apol. des Eglis* : *Reform. c.* 10. (who, in pitching eſpecially on this point, *Adoration of the Eucharist*, as hindring the Proteſtants longer ſtay in the Roman Communion, hath in this Diſcourſe, and in two Replies to *Chaumont* made afterward in defence of it, diſcuſſed it more particularly than many others) in anſwer to S. *Ambroſe* and S. *Auſtin* their adoring the fleſh of Chriſt in the Myſteries. —'The Humanity of *Jeſus Chriſt* (ſaith he) 'perſonally united to the Divinity, is by conſequence truly and pro-'perly adorable. And again : "They only adored *Jeſus Chriſt* in 'the Sacrament ; which is the thing we agree to. And *ibid. p.* 29. 'We do willingly adore *Jeſus Chriſt*, who is preſent in the Sacra-'ment, namely by Faith in the heart of the Communicants, *&c.* And ſee Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Roman. Idol. c.* 2. *p.* 114. —'The 'Queſtion (ſaith he) between us, is not whether the perſon of 'Chriſt is to be worſhipped with Divine worſhip, for that we free-'ly acknowledg. And altho the humane nature of Chriſt, of it 'ſelf, can yeild us no ſufficient reaſon for adoration [*he muſt mean*, '*Divine*] : yet being conſidered as united to the Divine Nature, 'that cannot hinder, the ſame Divine worſhip being given to his 'Perſon, which belongs to his Divine Nature ; any more than the 'Robes of a Prince can take off from the honour due unto him. Tho how well that which he ſaith before, *ibid.* §. 2. (as it ſeems, againſt worſhipping Chriſt ſuppoſed preſent in the Eucharist, without a ſpecial command to do it) conſiſts with what he ſaith here, and with what follows, let him look to it.]

§. 5. 4. It is affirmed by many Proteſtants, eſpecially thoſe of the
n. 1. Church of *England*, that *this Body and Blood of our Lord is really pre-*

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sent, not only in virtue, but in substance in the Eucharist, either with the Symbols immediately upon the Consecration; or at least so, as to be received in the Eucharist, together with the Symbols, by every worthy Communicant: and that this Body and Blood of our Lord, which is not severed from his Person, is then to be worshiped with supreme Adoration.

[See 1. for a *substantial* presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist, (I mean at least to the worthy Receiver, contradistinct to a Presence by *effect* only, influence, virtue, grace, or the Holy Spirit, uniting us to Christ's Body in heaven) Dr. *Taylor* of *Real Presence*, *p.* 12. "When the word *Real* (saith he) is denied [*i.e. by Protestants, as it was in King* Edward's *time*] the word *Real* is taken for 'Natural, [*i.e. as he explains it p.* 5. *including not only the nature of the* 'body, *for that is the substance*; *but the corporal and natural manner of its existence*: he goes on,] "But the word *substantialiter* is also 'used by Protestants in this question, which I suppose may be the 'same with that which is in the Article of *Trent*; *Sacramentaliter* 'præsens Salvator substantia sua nobis adest; in *substance*, but after a 'sacramental manner. See the Confession of *Beza*, and the *French* Protestants (related by *Hospinian, hist. sacram. part. ult. p.* 251.) 'Fatemur in cœna Domini non modo omnia Christi beneficia, sed 'ipsam etiam Filii hominis *substantiam*, ipsam, inquam, veram car-'nem & verum illum sanguinem, quem fudit pro nobis, non signi-'ficari duntaxat, aut symbolicè, typicè, vel figuratè proponi tan-'quam absentis memoriam; sed verè ac certò repræsentari, exhi-'beri, & applicanda offerri, adjunctis symbolis minime nudis, sed 'quæ (quod ad Deum ipsum promittentem & offerentem attinet) 'semper rem ipsam verè ac certò *conjunctam* habeant; sive fideli-'bus, sive infidelibus proponantur.

Again, *Beza* Epist. 68. speaking against *Alemannus*, and some others, who opposed a *substantial* presence; "Volunt (saith he) ex 'Gallica Confessione [*Art.* 36.] & Liturgia [*Catech. Din.* 53.] ex-'pungi *substantiæ* vocem, idcirco de industria passim a *Calvino* & a 'me usurpatam, ut eorum calumniæ occurreremus, qui nos clami-'tant pro re Sacramenti non ipsum Christum, sed ejus duntaxat do-'na & energiam, ponere. And *Epist.* 5. he argues thus against the same *Alemannus*. —"Velim igitur te imprimis intueri Christi ver-'ba; *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur*, & *Hic est sanguis* 'meus qui pro vobis funditur. —Age pro his vocibus *Corpus* & *San-'guis*, dicamus, Hoc est *efficacia* mortis meæ, quæ pro vobis tradi-'tur; Hic est *Spiritus* meus qui pro vobis effunditur: Quid inep-'tius est hac oratione? Nam certe verba illa, *Quod pro vobis tradi-*

'*tur*, & *Qui pro vobis funditur*, necessario huc te adigunt, ut de ip-
'samet Corporis & Sanguinis *substantia* hoc intelligere cogaris.

See *Hooker, Eccles. Pol.* 5. *l.* 67. §. *p.* 357. 'Wherefore should the 'world continue still distracted and rent with so manifold conten-'tions; when there remaineth now no controversy, saving only 'about the subject, where Christ is? —Nor doth any thing rest 'doubtful in this, but whether, when the Sacrament is admini-'stred, Christ be whole within man only; or else his Body and 'Blood be also externally seated in the very consecrated elements 'themselves? [*But a great controversy surely there would be beside this, if the one party held Christ's Body* substantially, *and the other* virtually *present.*] Again *p.* 360.—" All three opinions do thus 'far accord in one *&c.* That these holy mysteries, received in due 'manner, do instrumentally both make us partakers of that Body 'and Blood, which were given for the life of the world; and be-sides also impart unto us, even in true and real, tho mystical, man-'ner, the very Person of our Lord himself, whole, perfect, and en-'tire.

Thus also Bishop *Andrews*, *Resp. ad Apol. Bell.* 1. *cap. p.* 11. *Nobis vobiscum de Objecto convenit, de Modo lis omnis est.* [But there would be a *lis* concerning the Object, if one affirmed the *substance* of the Body there, the other only the *virtue*, or efficacy.]

§. 5. n. 2. See Bishop *Cosins* his late *Historia Transubstantiationis, tit. cap.* 2. 'Protestantium omnium consensus de *reali*, id est, vera, (sed non '*carnali*) Præsentia Christi in *Eucharistia* manifeste constat. And in proof of this *p.* 10. he quotes *Poinet* Bishop of *Winchester*, his *Dialacticon de veritate, natura, atque substantia Corporis & Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia*; " quod (saith he) non alio consilio edidit, 'quam ut fidem & doctrinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ illustraret. Et 'primo ostendit *Eucharistiam non solum figuram* esse Corporis Domi-'ni; sed etiam ipsam veritatem, naturam, atque substantiam in se 'comprehendere; idcirco nec has voces *Naturæ* & *Substantiæ* fugi-'giendas esse; Veteres enim de hoc Sacramento differentes ita lo-'cutos fuisse. Secundo quærit, an voces illæ, *Veritas*, *Natura*, & *Sub-'stantia*, communi more in hoc mysterio a veteribus intelligeban-'tur; an peculiari & Sacramentis magis accommodata ratione? 'Neque enim observandum esse solum, quibus verbis olim Patres 'usi sunt, sed quid istis significare ac docere voluerint. Et licet dis-'crimen ipse cum Patribus agnoscat, inter Corpus Christi *formam 'humani corporis naturalem habens*, & quod in Sacramento est Cor-'pus *mysticum*; maluit tamen discrimen illud *ad modum præsentiæ* & '*exhibitionis*, quam ad *ipsam rem*, hoc est, *Corpus Christi verum* ac-

commodari;

'commodari; cum certissimum sit, non aliud Corpus in Sacramen-
'to fidelibus dari, nisi quod a Christo pro fidelium salute in mortem
'traditum fuit. Thus he, justifying *Point's* expressions speaking in the language of the Fathers. *p.* 43. —" Non dicimus (saith 'he) in hac sacra Cœna nos tantum esse participes fructus mortis, '& passionis Christi; sed fundum ipsum cum fructibus, qui ab ip-'so ad nos redeant, conjungimus; asserentes cum Apostolo, 1 *Cor.* '10.16. *Panem quem frangimus esse* κοινωνὸν *Corporis Christi, & Pocu-'lum Sanguinis ejus communicationem*; imo in eadem illa substantia, 'quam accepit in utero Virginis, & quam sursum in cœlos in-'vexit; in hoc tantum a Pontificiis dissidentes, quod illi manduca-'tionem hanc & conjunctionem corporaliter fieri credunt; nos 'non naturali aliqua ratione, aut modo corporali; sed tamen tam 'vere, quam si naturaliter aut corporaliter Christo conjungeremur. [*Here I understand his* non modo corporali *not to exclude* Corpus Domini, *or* non ratione naturali *to exclude* natura rei, *or the thing it self; but only to signify*, that the Body is present, not after a corporal manner, or with the dimensions and other common qualities of a Body; *which thing indeed Catholicks also affirm.*]

He seems also to grant, this substantial Presence to be with the Symbols, after Consecration, on the Table, and before communicating. For *p.* 65. for this he quotes the *Conc. Nicæn.* 'Sublata in-'altum mente per fidem consideremus, proponi in sacra illa mensa 'Agnum Dei tollentem peccata mundi. And *p.* 43. —" Quoniam *(saith he)* res significata nobis offertur & exhibetur tam vere quam 'signa ipsa: ea ratione signorum cum Corpore & Sanguine Domi-'ni conjunctionem agnoscimus; & mutata esse elementa dicimus 'in usum alium ab eo quem prius habuerunt. [i. e. *to be now conjoyned with, and to exhibit to us this Body of our Lord: which conjunction he saith p.* 45. *is made* per omnipotentiam Dei.] So he saith *ibid.* —'Non quæritur, An Corpus Christi a Sacramento suo, jux-'ta mandatum ejus instituto ac usurpato, absit; quod nos Prote-'stantes & Reformati nequaquam dicimus aut credimus. Nam 'cum ibi detur & sumatur, omnino oportet ut adsit; licet Sacra-'mento suo quasi contectum sit, & ibi, ut in se est, conspici neque-at. And *p.* 125. —" Fieri enim *(saith he)* de Elemento Sacramen-'tum [*which surely is done in the Consecration*] nec consistere Sa-'cramentum sine Re Sacramenti, firmiter tenent. And this *conjunctio Corporis Christi* p. 35. he affirms to be made in receiving the Sacrament, not only *cum anima, sed etiam cum corpore nostro.* §. 5. n. 3.

"Lastly, the *modus* of this true Presence of the Body of our Lord with the signs or symbols in the Sacrament, when as it remains in §. 5. n. 4.

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heaven till our Lord's ſecond coming, he makes, as others, to be *ineffabilis, imperſcrutabilis, non ratione inquirendus aut indagandus.* p. 36. ‘—Nos vero hunc modum [*præſentiæ Chriſti in Euchariſtia*] fate‘mur cum Patribus eſſe ineffabilem, atque imperſcrutabilem, hoc ‘eſt, non ratione inquirendum, aut indagandum; ſed ſola fide cre‘dendum. Etſi enim videtur incredibile in tanta locorum diſtantia ‘penetrare ad nos *Chriſti* carnem, ut nobis ſit in cibum; meminiſſe ‘tamen oportet, quantum ſupra ſenſus noſtros emineat Spiritus ‘Sancti virtus, & quam ſtultum ſit ejus immenſitatem modo noſtro ‘metiri velle. Quod ergo mens noſtra non comprehendit, concipi‘at fides. [*The like to which* eſſe ineffabilem, & ſupra ſenſus, *Catholicks ſay of the ſame Preſence of our Lord in the Euchariſt* in tanta locorum diſtantia, *whilſt alſo at the very ſame time it is in heaven.*] And thus *Lanfrank* long ago in his anſwer to *Berengarius*, (who contended, that *Chriſti corpus cœlo devocari non poterit*,) quoting the words of St. *Andrew* a little before his paſſion: —“Cum vero in ‘terris carnes ejus ſunt comeſtæ, & vere ſanguis ejus ſit bibitus; ‘ipſe tamen uſque in tempora reſtitutionis omnium in cœleſtibus ‘ad dextram Patris integer ſemper perſeverat & vivat. “Si quæris ‘(ſaith he) modum quo id fieri poſſit; breviter ad præſens reſpon‘deo, Myſterium eſt fidei: credi ſalubriter poteſt, veſtigari utili‘ter non poteſt. See alſo the *Gallican* Confeſſion produced by this Biſhop, *p.* 23. where they ſay, “Chriſtus in cœlis manſurus ‘donec veniat; *and yet* nutriens & vivificans nos Corporis & San‘guinis ſui ſubſtantia, [i.e. *in the Sacrament*:] *that* Hoc myſterium ‘noſtræ cum Chriſto coalitionis tam ſublime eſt, ut omnes noſtros ‘ſenſus, totumque adeo ordinem naturæ ſuperet. In all theſe then ‘doth not the incomprehenſibility and ſupernaturality of this Myſtery lye in this, that the one Body of our Lord ſhould be at once in two places, *viz.* preſent at the ſame time in Heaven, and to us here in the Sacrament? And yet this Biſhop ſeems to find ſome trouble in it to make any other unexplicable or unintelligible myſtery in the *Catholicks* Tranſubſtantiation, ſave only this. See *p.* 122. For the ceaſing of the ſubſtance of the Elements by God's Omnipotency he allows very feiſible; and then, the Adduction of Chriſt's Body (preexiſtent) in the place of their ſubſtance, labours under no other difficulty, ſave this, this Body its being at once in two places, here and in heaven: nor, having twice* mentioned ſuch a Sacramental Preſence of our Lord, hath he replied any thing againſt it, but that thus the term of *Tranſubſtantiation* is not rightly applied to ſuch an Adduction; which is a *Logomachy*. But this ſeems the difficulty and incomprehenſibility that *Proteſtants* alſo

*p. 122. & p. 125.

alſo confeſs in their Sacramental Preſence of our Lord *in tanta locorum diſtantia paſcentis nos in Euchariſtia vera Corporis ſui præſentia & ſubſtantia.*

Laſtly, after this Biſhop, with others, hath ſo far conformed to the expreſſions and language of the Fathers, as to allow an Eſſential or Subſtantial preſence of Chriſt's body, it ſeems he finds ſome of theſe expreſſions alſo ſo far to advance toward a ſubſtantial tranſmutation of the Elements, as that he ſaith *p.* 113. —"Non 'abnuimus, nonnulla apud *Chryſoſtomum* alioſque Patres inveniri, 'quæ emphatice, immo vero Hyperbolice de Euchariſtia prolata 'ſunt: Et quæ, niſi dextre capiantur, incautos homines facile in er-'rores abducent. *And below:* 'Sanctiſſimi Patres quo hæc audito-'rum animis vehementius & efficacius imprimerent, de Typis, 'tanquam ſi eſſent ipſa Antitypa, Oratorum more multa enunci-'ant. And again, *p.* 117. 'Si verba [*i. e. of ſome of the Fathers*] ni-'mis rigide urgeantur abſque intellectu Sacramentali; nihil aliud 'ex iis colligi poteſt, quam Panem & Vinum proprie & realiter ip-'ſum Chriſti Corpus & Sanguinem eſſe; quod ne ipſi quidem 'Tranſubſtantiatores admittunt. Where he granting the expreſ-ſions of ſome of the Fathers ſo high as to tranſcend the aſſertions of Catholicks, or Tranſubſtantiators; whoſe aſſertions again tranſcend thoſe of Proteſtants in this Myſtery: it ſeems not reaſonable, that he ſhould after this depreſs and extenuate their meanings, to countenance and comply rather with that opinion that is farther diſtant from their expreſſions. Neither will the ſame Fathers calling, in other places, the Elements *ſymbols* and *ſigns* of Chriſt's Body, (as he pleadeth *p.* 116.) afford him that relief he ſeeks for from it. For ſince the Catholicks as well as Proteſtants do firmly maintain and profeſs an external Symbol as well as the thing ſignified in the Euchariſt, *viz.* all that is perceived by our ſenſes, and that is viſible, guſtable, or tangible, of the *Elements*; as the Proteſtants contend this Symbol to be not only theſe, but the very ſubſtance and nature of the Elements alſo: here it will be found that theſe ſentences of the Fathers do ſuffer much leſs force and torture, if underſtood according to the *ſymbols* ſuppoſed by Catholicks, than that by Proteſtants. For example, the Biſhop * hath mentioned that paſſage of the ancient Author *de Cœna Domini* in S. *Cyprian's* works: the words are theſe; —"Panis iſte, quem Dominus diſci-'pulis porrigebat, non effigie ſed natura mutatus, Omnipotentia 'Verbi factus eſt caro: & ſicut in perſona Chriſti Humanitas ap-'parebat, & latebat Divinitas; ita Sacramento viſibili ineffabiliter 'divina ſe effudit eſſentia. Here, I ſay, if the *Sacramentum viſibile*, and

§. 5. n. 5.

* p. 122.

and the external Symbol be taken in this Bishops way, for *substantia* or *natura panis*, all is extremely forc't, and confounded; and so he is driven to expound it, that by *mutatio naturæ panis* is meant only *mutatio usus* *; the change of which use of the Bread also seems no object of God's Omnipotence. But the Symbol or Sacrament being taken for such as the Catholicks make it, *viz.* for the external *Effigies* or Sensibles of the Bread, all is good sense and coherent, and nothing strained; and the *Omnipotentia Verbi* rightly applied to the *mutatio naturæ panis*: as God's Omnipotency may be observed in the Fathers to be frequently urged, not only in relation to the presence of our Lord's body and blood there, but also to the transmutation of the Elements there, whilst the exteriors of them still remain. But now in the last place, supposing the *natura Panis* to remain, which the Father saith is changed, yet so long as these Divines maintain according to the doctrine of the Fathers a substantial presence of our Lord's Body in the Eucharist, and that with the Symbols, (as he saith *p.* 45. *Sacramento suo quasi contectum*); tho they will not admit such a Symbol as the Catholicks, and a Transubstantiation of the Elements: yet they must (if complying with the Fathers) at least confess some Kind of Consubstantiation or conjunction of the substances of Christ's Body and of the Elements in the Eucharist; to which opinion the sayings of the Fathers constrained *Luther*, as he often professeth. Mean while if it be asked, why such a Consubstantiation is declined by Catholicks? their answer is ready; *viz.* because the greatest *Councils* that have bin held successively in the Church-Catholick, upon and since the agitation of this controversy, have frequently and constantly stated and delivered, that the Scriptures, as understood and expounded by the Fathers and Church-Tradition, declare a Transubstantiation; in the Judgments of which Councils Catholicks hold it their Duty to acquiesce. *This of a Substantial presence asserted by Protestants.*

* p. 120.

§. 6. n. 1. 2. Next, for *Adoration* too of this Body, as there present either with the Symbols upon their Consecration, or at least to all worthy receivers see the same Bishop *Andrews*, *ib. c.* 8. *p.* 195; where to what *Bellarmin* had said, 'Inter novitia & nupera dogmata ponit Adorationem Sacramenti Eucharistiæ, i. e. adorationem Christi Domini in Sacramento, miro, sed vero modo præsentis, he answers thus: "Sacramenti ait, id est, Christi Domini in Sacramento. Rex autem Christum in Eucharistia vere præsentem, vere & adorandum statuit, rem scil. Sacramenti; at non Sacramentum." And —"Nos vero & in mysteriis carnem Christi adoramus, cum

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'*Ambrosio*; & non *id* [i.e. *Sacramentum*] sed *eum*, qui super altare 'colitur, [i.e. *Christum rem Sacramenti.*] *And is not this* res Sacramenti *worshipped as upon the Altar too with the Symbols there?*

Since him, Bishop *Bramhal* to the Bishop of *Chalcedon*, * asking, how the Protestants could profess to agree in all Essentials of Religion with the Roman Church, which they held to be an idolatrous Church, *i.e.* in worshipping the Sacrament as their God? thus replies: "The Sacrament is to be adored, said the Council of *Trent*: '*The Sacrament*, i.e. formally the Body and Blood of Christ, say 'some of your Authors, [*where he quotes* Bellarmin *de sacramento*, 4. *l.* 29. *c.*] we say the same. [*So Cardinal* Bellarmin *and Bishop* Bramhal *are agreed about this Adoration of our Lord in the Eucharist.*] '*The Sacrament*, i.e. the species of bread and wine, say others: that 'we deny, and esteem it to be idolatrous. Should we charge the 'whole Church with idolatry for the error of a party?'

* Rep. to Chalced. 2. c. p. 57.

The same concession with the same distinction makes the French-Protestant Divine *Daillé*, in his second Reply to *Chaumont*, *p.* 29. "There is a vast difference between *to adore the Sacrament*, 'and to adore *Jesus Christ* in the Sacrament, or in the Mysteries. '—The later of these we freely do, since we believe him God blessed for ever together with the Father. And afterward, in answer to the Fathers: "They speak (saith he) of the flesh of Jesus Christ in the Mysteries, (of which we do not contest the Adoration,) and not of the Eucharist. *And again*: 'They only adored Jesus Christ in the Sacrament, which is the thing we agree to. And in his Apology, *ch.–p.* he saith, concerning the Body of Christ if in the Sacrament, "That it is evident, that one may, 'and that one ought to worship it; seeing that the Body of Christ 'is a subject adorable. And *chap*: 10. he grants upon *Adorate scabellum*, —"That the faithful cast down themselves before the Ark 'to adore the Lord there, where the Divine Service was particularly joyned to the place where the Ark was. Dr. *Taylor* * saith, concerning the action of Adoration, —'It is a fit address in the 'day of Solemnity with a *sursum corda*, with our hearts lift up to 'heaven, where Christ sits (we are sure) at the right hand of the 'Father. For, *nemo digne manducat, nisi prius adoraverit*, &c. [which, rightly understood, means *illud quod manducat.*] Here the Doctor allows adoring in the Sacrament Christ as in heaven. But if Christ's Body (and so himself in a special manner) be substantially present in the Eucharist, here on Earth; why not adore him, not only as in heaven, but as present here? See elsewhere *Real Pres. p.* 144. where he saith, "we worship the flesh of Christ

§. 6. n. 2.

* Real presence §. 13. n. 5.

'in the Mysteries exhibiting it to our souls.

§. 6. n. 3. See *Spalatensis de rep. Eccles. l. 7. c. 11. §. 7. &c.* — 'Si secundum ve-'ritatem qui digne sumit sacramenta corporis & sanguinis Christi, 'ille vere & realiter corpus & sanguinem Christi, in se corporaliter, 'modo tamen quodam spirituali, miraculoso, & imperceptibili, su-'mit; omnis digne communicans adorare potest & debet corpus 'Christi quod recipit. [*Is then the worthy Communicant to worship, but not the unworthy; because Christ's body is there present to the one, but not to the other?*] 'Non quod lateat corporaliter in pane, aut 'sub pane, aut sub speciebus & accidentibus panis; sed quod quan-'do digne sumitur panis sacramentalis, tunc etiam sumitur cum 'pane Christi corpus reale, illi communioni realiter præsens. Thus *Spalatensis.*

And so Bishop *Forbes, de Euchar. 2. l. 2. c. 9. §.* —" An Christus 'in Eucharistia sit adorandus Protestantes saniores non dubitant. 'In sumptione enim Eucharistiæ (ut utar verbis Archiepiscopi *Spa-'latensis*) adorandus est Christus vera latria, siquidem corpus ejus 'vivum, ac gloriosum, miraculo quodam ineffabili digne sumenti 'præsens adest; & hæc adoratio non pani, non vino, non sumpti-'oni, non comestioni, sed ipsi Corpori immediate, per sumptionem 'Eucharistiæ exhibito, debetur, & perficitur. [*Thus then Protestants allow Adoration to Christ's Body and Blood, as substantially present in the Eucharist, if not to the symbols, yet to the worthy receiver.*]

§. 7. 5*ly.* Yet further; It is affirmed by another party of Protestants, the *Lutherans*, more expressly, that Christ's body and blood are *present* not only to the worthy Communicant, but to the *consecrated symbols*: and whilst so present, which is during the action of the Lord's Supper, (*i. e.* as I conceive them, from the Consecration till the end of the Communion) *are to be adored.*

[Of which thus *Chemnitius, Exam. Conc. Trid. part. 2. sess. 13. c. 5.* 'Deum & Hominem in Divina & humana natura, in actione Cœnæ 'Dominicæ vere & substantialiter præsentem, in spiritu & veritate 'adorandum, nemo negat; nisi qui cum Sacramentariis vel negat, 'vel dubitat de præsentia Christi in cœna. *Ibid.* — " Et quidem 'humanam etiam ejus naturam, propter unionem cum Divinitate, 'esse adorandam, nemo nisi *Nestorianus* in dubium vocat. — Ita *Ja-'cob* Gen. 28. *Moses* Exod. 34. *Elias* 3 Reg. 19. non habebant sane 'peculiare mandatum, ut in illis locis Deum adorarent: sed quia 'habebant generale mandatum ut Deum ubique adorarent, & certi 'erant Deum sub externis & visibilibus illis symbolis vere adesse, & 'peculiari modo gratiæ se ibi patefacere; certe Deum ipsum, quem 'ibi præsentem esse credebant, adorabant. 'Nec vero Deum illi

procul

'procul in cœlo Empyræo a se remotum & absentem, sed vere præ-
'sentem, & quidem peculiari modo gratiæ præsentem, adorarunt.
—Thus he. Nor do I know, that the *Calvinists* have at any time accused their brethren the *Lutherans* of Idolatry in such a practice. I find also Mr. *Thorndike* in the like manner clearly maintaining, 1. a presence of Christ's Body with the symbols, immediately upon consecration, and 2. an Adoration due to it. See the *former* in *Epilog. l.* 3. *c.* 2. and 3. where *p.* 17. "I have said enough (saith 'he) to evidence the mystical and spiritual presence of the flesh 'and blood of Christ in the Elements, as the Sacrament of the same, 'before any man can suppose that spiritual presence of them to the 'soul, which the eating and drinking Christ's flesh and blood spi-'ritually by living faith importeth. And see the *latter*, ib. *c.* 30. *p.* 350. —"I suppose (saith he) that the Body and Blood of 'Christ may be adored where ever they are; and must be adored 'by a good Christian, where the custom of the Church, which a 'Christian is obliged to communicate with, requires it. —This ho-'nour [*i.e. of worshipping the body and blood of Christ*] being the du-'ty of an affirmative precept, (which, according to the received 'rule, ties always; tho it cannot tye a man to do the duty always, 'because he then should do nothing else:) what remains but a 'just occasion to make it requisite, and presently to take hold and 'oblige? And is not the presence thereof in the Sacrament of the 'Eucharist a just *occasion* presently to express, by the bodily act of 'Adoration, that inward honour, which we always carry toward 'our Lord Christ as God? —Again *p.* 351. "Not to balk that free-'dom (saith he) which hath carried me to publish all this: I do 'believe that it was so practised and done [*i.e. our Lord Christ really 'worshipped in the Eucharist*] in the ancient Church, and in the sym-'bols before receiving; which I maintain from the beginning to 'have bin the true Chuch of Christ, obliging all to conform to it 'in all things within the power of it. I know the consequence to 'be this, That there is no just cause why it should not be done at 'present, but that cause which justifies the reforming of some part 'of the Church without the whole: which, were it taken away, 'that it [*this adoration*] might be done again, and ought not to be, 'of it self alone, any cause of distance [*i. e. between the Churches of Christ.*

6. It is granted by *Daillé* in his *Apology*, *c.* 11. and in his defence of it against *Chaumont*, 1. That altho the Reformed of his party do not believe the presence of Christ's body in the signs, yet they *esteem not the belief of it so criminal, that it obligeth them to break*

off communion with all those that hold it. So that, had the Roman Church no other error, save this, they freely confess, it had given them no sufficient cause of separating from it: "as (saith he) appears in this, that we tolerate and bear with it in the *Lutherans.* And again, * for the Adoration of this Body as so present with the signs, (when indeed it is not so,) he saith, —"That it is only vain and unprofitable, and that, as one may say, falls to nothing; being deceived not in this, that it makes its addresses to an object not adorable; but in this only, that mistaking it, it seeks it, and thinks to embrace it there where it is not. And *c.* 12. he also freely confesseth, "That, had the Church of *Rome* only obliged them to worship *Jesus Christ* in the Sacrament, and not used this expression, that the service of *Latria* ought to be rendred to the Holy Sacrament: *she had not obliged them by this to adore any creature. Thus he: as it were constrained thereto by the *Lutheran* Protestants opinion and practice, for his retaining their communion, and freeing them from Idolatry. 2. It is granted also, *Apol. c.* 11. —That when our Lord was on earth, a disciple's giving divine honours, upon mistake, to another person much resembling him, would be no idolatry. So, supposing the consecrated Hoast were truly adorable, granted, that should any one see one on the Altar, that hapned not to be consecrated, and worship it, neither would such a person be guilty of idolatry. So he pronounces him blameless that should give the honour and service due to his true Prince to a subject, whom very like, he took for his Prince. Yet that a *Manichean* worshipping the Sun, mistaken to be the very substance of Christ, (see S. *Austin contra Faustum l.* 12.*c.*22. *l.*20. *c.* 9.) for *Christ*; or (to represent the opinion more refined) worshipping with divine honours not the Sun, but only Christ in the Sun, he could not in this be excused from Idolatry. And, that that which distinguishes these cases, and renders them so different, is, not a good intention to worship only him that is truly God, or Christ; nor the opinion and belief men have, that the Object they worship is truly such; for this good intention (as he in that chapter, and other Reformed Writers, and among others Dr. *Stillingfleet*, copiously press) is common to the worst of Idolaters, as to the rest: but the error or ignorance of the judgment, from which flows this mistaking practice; as that is perversly *affected* and culpable, or *innocent* and excusable. Of which thus he, *Ibid.* —"I maintain, that ignorance excuseth here when it is involuntary; when the subject [*I add, or the presence of it*] we mistake in, is so concealed, that whatever desire we have, or pains we take, to find out the truth,

* Reply to *Chillingworth.* p. 63.

* Conc. *Trid.* sess. 13. 5.

'truth, it is not possible for us to discover it. —But there, where 'the ignorance of the Object [*or of its presence*] proceeds not from 'the obscurity or difficulty of the thing, but from the malice or 'negligence of the person; this is so far from excusing, that it ag-'gravates our fault. Thus he excuses one that should have adored a person much resembling our Lord, or an unconsecrated Hoast —"because no passion or negligence of his caused such a 'mistake: —but not those who worshipped the Sun for *Christ*, [or *Christ in the Sun*;] —"because (saith he) the ignorance of 'such people is visibly affected and voluntary, arising from their 'fault only, and not from the obscurity of the things they are ignorant in. Nor so *Roman*-Catholicks in their worshipping the Sacrament for Christ; "because (saith he) the error proceeds en-'tirely from their passion, and not any thing from abroad. [*Thus he, clearing such actions from idolatry, where the error of the judgment is no way perverse, voluntary, and culpable.*]

Having hitherto shewed you several Concessions of *Protestants*, and having urged none here from any of them, but such, as I think all will, or in reason ought, to admit; next I proceed to examine, what it is that in this matter *Catholicks* do maintain.

1. And First, *Catholicks* affirm in the Eucharist, after the Consecration, a *sign* or symbol to remain still distinct; and having a diverse existence from that of the *thing signified*, or, from *Christ's Body* contained in, or under it. [See *Conc. Trident. sess.* 13. *c.* 3. "Hoc esse commune Eucharistiæ cum aliis Sacramentis, ut sit sym-'bolum rei sacræ, & visibilis forma invisibilis gratiæ. By which *forma visibilis* (as *Bellarmin* expounds it, *de Euchariſt.* 4. *l.* 6. *c.*) is meant the *species* of the Elements, not the Body of *Christ*. —So *Bellarmin. Euchar.* 2. *l.* 15. *c.* "Etiam post consecrationem species 'panis & vini sunt signa corporis & sanguinis *Christi* ibi revera existentium.— and 3. *l.* 22. *c.* "Accidentia remanent; quia si eti-'am accidentia abessent, nullum esset in Eucharistia signum sensi-'bile; proinde nullum esset Sacramentum. So *Estius in* 4. *sent.* 11. *dist.* 3. §. "Eucharistia constat ex pane, tanquam materia 'quadam partim transeunte, partim remanente; transeunte qui-'dem secundum substantiam; remanente vero secundum acci-'dentia, in quibus tota substantiæ vis & operatio nihilominus per-'severat. Hence they allow of that expression of *Irenæus*, 4. *l.* 34. *c.* where he saith, —"Eucharistiam ex duabus rebus, terrena & 'cœlesti compositam esse. And of St. *Gregory*, *dial.* 4. *l.* 58. *c.* "In 'hoc mysterio summa imis sociari: terrena cœlestibus jungi: unum 'ex visibilibus ac invisibilibus fieri.] So that tho these symbols

§. 9. *Assertions.*

and

and Christ's body may be said to make *unum aggregatum*; yet, if this be only the *species* or accidents of the bread and wine that remains, these cannot be said to have any inherence in this Body of Christ, (tho it is true on the other side that, being accidents only, they cannot be said to make a distinct *suppositum* from it;) or, if a substance remain, this cannot be said to have any hypostatical union (or to make one *suppositum*) with our Lord's Divinity or Humanity, as our Lord's Humanity hath such an union with his Divinity. From which it is observed by Dr. *Taylor* (*Real Presence*, p. 336.) that therefore still there is the less reason for *Romanists* to give any Divine worship (as he saith they do) to the symbols. Far therefore are Catholicks from granting (what a late Author* pretends they do, but that which he alledgeth no way shews it) as great an hypostatical union between Christ and the Sacrament, as between the Divine and Humane Nature.

* Stillingfleet Rom. Hol. p. 128.

§. 10. This external sign or symbol they also affirm to be *all that* of the bread and wine that is *perceived* by any *sense*. And tho after such consecration the substance of the bread and wine is denied to remain, yet is *substance* here taken in such a sense, as that neither the hardness nor softness, nor the frangibility, nor the savour, nor the odour, nor the nutritive virtue of the bread, nor nothing visible, nor tangible, or otherwise perceptible by any sense, are involved in it. Of which signs also they predicate many things, which they will by no means allow to be properly said of, or at least to be received in, or effected by or upon *Christ's* body, now immortal and utterly impassible. So *sapere, digeri, nutrire, confortare, corporaliter*; and again, *frangi dentibus, comburi, rodi a brutis animalibus*, and whatever other thing may be named (excepting only those attributes, which in general are necessary to indicate the presence of *Christ's* body to us with the *species* whilst *integræ*; as the local positions, *elevari, recondi, ore recipi, &c*) they apply to these symbols that remain; not to *Christ's* body which is indivisibly there. —"Christus vere in sacramento existens nullo modo lædi potest; non cadit in terram, [*id enim proprie cadit* (saith he) *quod corporaliter movetur*; so also, *anima non cadit*,] non teritur, non roditur, non pu-
* De Eucharist. 3. l. 10. c. trescit, non crematur: illa enim (saith *Bellarmin* *) in speciebus istis recipiuntur, sed Christum non afficiunt.

§. 11. 2. Concerning Adoration of the Sacrament, they affirm the word *Sacrament not to be taken always in the same sense*; but sometimes to be used to signify only the *external signs* or symbols; sometimes only the *res Sacramenti*, or the thing contained under them, which is the much more principal part thereof. And, as *Protestants* much

much preſs, ſo *Catholicks* willingly acknowledg, a great difference between theſe two, the worſhipping of the *Sacrament*, as this word is taken for the ſymbols, and the worſhipping of *Chriſt's Body* in the Sacrament. Now as the word *Sacrament* is taken for the *Symbols*, they acknowledg a certain inferiour cult and veneration due thereto, as to other holy things, the holy Chalices, the holy Goſpels, the holy Croſs, *&c. of which Veneration much hath been ſpoken in the Diſcourſe of* Images *§.* 42 *&c.* but they acknowledg no ſupreme or Divine Adoration due to the Sacrament, as taken in this ſenſe for the ſymbols; but only to our Lord's Body and Blood, and ſo to our Lord himſelf as preſent in this Sacrament, or with theſe ſymbols. [So that be theſe Symbols of what latitude you will, either larger, as the *Lutheran* believes; or ſtraiter, as the *Catholicks* ſay they are; or be they not only theſe, but the ſubſtance of bread alſo under them, as *Catholicks* believe it is not: yet neither thoſe *ſpecies*, nor this *ſubſtance*, have any divine Adoration given or acknowledged due to them at all; no more than this ſubſtance of Bread, believed there by the *Lutherans*, yet hath from them any ſuch Adoration given to it.]

[That Catholicks thus by Adoration of the Sacrament with *Latria* only underſtand that of the *res Sacramenti*, the Adoration of Chriſt's Body and Blood in the Sacrament, ſee *Conc. Trid. Seſſ.* 13. *c.* 5. "Omnes Chriſti fideles, pro more in Catholica Eccleſia ſemper 'recepto, latriæ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic ſanctiſſimo Sa-'cramento in veneratione exhibeant. Neque enim ideo minus eſt 'adorandum, quod fuerit a Chriſto Domino, ut ſumatur, inſtitu-'tum; nam illum eundem Deum præſentem in eo adeſſe credimus, 'quem Pater æternus introducens in orbem terrarum dicit; *Et ado-'rent eum omnes Angeli Dei:* quem Magi procidentes adoraverunt. Where, tho the Council uſeth the expreſſion of exhibiting *latriæ cultum Sacramento*; yet that this *cultus latriæ* is not applied to the Sacrament, as it implies the ſign or ſymbol, but only the thing ſignified, both the words joyned to it, *qui vero Deo debetur*, (which ſignifies the Council maintains that to be God they gave this *cultus latriæ* to) and the explication annexed, *Nam illum eundem Deum &c.* may ſufficiently convince to any not obſtinately oppoſite. Neither do thoſe words interpoſed, —*Neque enim ideo* [*Sacramentum*] *minus eſt adorandum, quod fuerit a Chriſto Domino ut ſumatur inſtitutum*, any way croſs ſuch a ſenſe, as a late Author * too confidently preſſeth, ſaying, —"That by *Sacrament* here the Council muſt un-'derſtand the elements or accidents as the immediate term of that 'divine worſhip, or elſe the latter words [*i. e. quod fuerit a Domino inſti-*

§. 12.

* Stillingfleet, Rom. Idol. c. 2 §. 2 p. 117.

'*institutum ut sumatur*] signify nothing at all. For what (saith he) 'was that, which was instituted by the Lord as a Sacrament? was 'it not the external and visible signs, or elements? why do they 'urge, *That the Sacrament ought not the less to be adored because it was* '*to be taken*, but to take off the common objection, *That we ought not* '*to give divine worship to that which we eat*? And what can this have 'respect to, but the Elements? Thus argues he. When-as he might know, that the Fathers of *Trent*, who said this, do hold, the chief thing instituted and exhibited in the Sacrament to be, not the Elements, but Christ's Body; and *ipsum corpus Domini* to be also orally both taken and eaten, (tho not *modo naturali carnis* or *corporis*) as well as the Elements, according to our Lord's express words, *Accipite, Manducate, Hoc est Corpus meum*, [*i. e. quod manducatis*:] and when-as he might know also, that the occasion of adding this clause was in opposition to a party of *Luther's* followers, who, granting Christ's Body present with the Symbols, and yet denying Adoration, said for it, that our Lord's body [not the *symbol*] was present there, *non ut adoretur, sed ut sumatur*. And *Calvin* also saith some such thing, *Institut. l.* 4. *c.* 17. §. 35. urging, there was no such mandate for Adoration, *i.e.* of Christ's Body, of which he was formerly speaking; but that our Lord commanded only, *Accipite, manducate, bibite, —quo* (saith he) *accipi* [or *sumi*, if you will] *Sacramentum, non adorari jubet*: meaning *Sacramentum* in relation to *Corpus Domini*; else he said nothing to the purpose of his former discourse. And it may be consider'd here also, that not only the Council of *Trent*, but no Schoolman at all (some of which are thought uncautious in their expressions about Adoration of Images, and consequently of the holy Symbols in the Eucharist; nor is any Catholick accountable for them) takes the boldness to give *cultus latriæ* (*qui vero Deo debetur*, as the Council saith here) to the Elements, without annexing some qualification of a *coadoratio, per accidens, improprie, sicut vestes Regis adorantur cum Rege*, or *ut Rex vestitus adoratur*, yet without our mental notion at such a time stripping him of his garments. Therefore neither can the Council here be rationally presumed to speak of the symbols, when it useth no such qualifications.

§. 13. But, to put this matter out of all doubt, the Definition of this Council in the *6th. Canon* (more than which is not required to be professed by any Son of the *Roman* Church) is this: —" Si quis 'dixerit in sancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento Christum unigenitum 'Dei Filium non esse cultu latriæ etiam externo adorandum, —& 'ejus Adoratores esse idololatras, Anathema sit. Concerning which

which, and some other passages in this Council, in comparing the *Chapters* with the *Canons*, *Franciscus a sancta Clara, Enchiridion of Faith Dial.* 3. §. 18. judiciously observes, — "That altho Catho-
'lick faith, as to the substance, is declared in the Chapters, (as in-
'deed it is,) yet according to this we are obliged only *sub anathe-*
'*mate* to that form of expression which is defined in the *Canons.*
'1. Because the *Chapters* are not framed in the stile of Conciliary
'Definitions, with *Anathema's*, and the like. 2. Because the *Ca-*
'*nons* (where the very form is exceeding exact) sometimes differ
'from the manner of expression in the *Chapters*, in order to the
'same matter: As *sess.* 6. of *Justification*; *Canon* 11. and *Chapter* 7;
'also *sess.* 13. of the *Sacrament of the Eucharist*; *Canon* 6. *Chapter* 5.
'and elsewhere: yet *sub anathemate* all must stand to the *Canons*;
'and therefore must expound the *Chapters* by them. See more in the Author.

Soave also, *l.* 4. *p.* 343. in his censure of this 13*th.* Session, tho he saith magisterially enough in opposition to a Council, — 'That
'the manner of speech used in the 5*th.* point of doctrine, saying,
'*That divine worship was due to the Sacrament*, was noted also for im-
'proper; since it is certain, that the thing signified or contained is
'not meant by the *Sacrament*, but the thing signifying or contain-
ing. [*But what Catholick will grant him this, that* Sacrament *includes not both; or, of the two, not more principally the thing contained in, or joyned-with the Symbols?*] Yet he observes, — "That it was well
'corrected in the 6*th. Canon*, which said, *that the Son of God ought*
'*to be worshipped in the Sacrament.* See the same observed also by *Grotius* in *Apolog. Rivet Discuss. p.* 79. where also he notes *Bellarmin's* forequoted passage: "That the Controversy between *Catho-*
'*licks* and *Lutherans* in their saying, *The Sacrament, or Christ in the*
'*Sacrament, was to be worshipped*, was only *in modo loquendi*: To which nothing is replied by *Rivet in Dialysi Discussionis*; but the matter there, as also in his *Apologetic*, passed over in silence. Add to *Grotius* what Mr. *Thorndike* discourseth in defence of the expression of *worshipping the Sacrament*, *Epilog.* 3. *l.* 30. *c. p.* 352. "I con-
'fess it is not (necessarily) the same thing to worship *Christ* in the
'Sacrament of the Eucharist, as to worship the *Sacrament* of the
'Eucharist. Yet in that sense, which reason of it self justifies, it is.
'For the Sacrament of the Eucharist, by reason of the nature there-
'of, is neither the visible *species*, nor the invisible Grace of Christ's
'Body and Blood; but the union of both by virtue of the promise;
'in regard whereof — both concur to that which we call the Sacra-
'ment of the Eucharist, — by the promise which the Institution

'thereof containeth. If this be rightly underſtood, *then* to wor-
'ſhip the *Sacrament* of the Eucharist, is to worſhip Chriſt in the
'Sacrament of the Eucharist. *Thus he.*

§. 14. This in vindication of the Council. And *Bellarmin* explains himſelf in the ſame manner as the Council, in his Apology to King *James*, "Inter nupera dogmata ponit [*Rex*] adorationem Sacra-
'menti Eucharistiæ, i.e. [*as Catholicks underſtand and explain it*] a-
'dorationem Chriſti Domini miro, ſed vero, modo præſentis. To which Biſhop *Andrews* replies: —"Quis ei hoc dederit? *Sacra-*
'*mento*, i. e. *Chriſti* in Sacramento. Imo Chriſtus ipſe Sacramenti
'res in Sacramento adorandus eſt. Rex autem Chriſtum in Eu-
'chariſtia vere præſentem, vere & adorandum ſtatuit. [*Thus far then the King, Biſhop, and Cardinal are agreed.*] Again, *de Euchariſtia l.* 4. *c.* 29, —"Quicquid ſit de modo loquendi, ſtatus Quæſtio-
'nis non eſt, niſi, *An Chriſtus in Euchariſtia ſit adorandus cultu latriæ?* And, as it were to avoid offence, when he comes to treat on this ſubject, *de Euchar.* 4. *l. c.* 29. he prefixeth the Title to it, not, *De adoratione*, but *De veneratione hujus Sacramenti*: And in it ſaith that —"Nullus Catholicus eſt qui doceat, Ipſa ſymbola ex-
'terna per ſe & proprie eſſe *adoranda* cultu latriæ, ſed ſolum *vene-*
'*randa* cultu quodam minore.

Of this Doctrine of Catholicks Biſhop *Forbes* gives this teſtimony, *l.*2. *c.* 2. 9. §. "In Euchariſtia mente diſcernendum eſſe Chri-
'ſtum a viſibili ſigno docent *Romanenſes*; & Chriſtum quidem ad-
'orandum eſſe, non tamen Sacramentum: quia ſpecies illæ ſunt
'res creatæ *&c.* neque ſatis eſt [*i.e. to give them divine worſhip*]
'quod Chriſtus ſub illis ſit: quia etiam Deus eſt in Anima tanquam
'in Templo ſuo; & tamen adoratur Deus, non Anima; ut ait *Sua-*
'*res* 3. *Tom.* 79. *quæſt.* 8. *art. diſp.*65. §. 1. And ſo *Spalatenſis l.* 7. *c.*11. *n.*7. "Nam neque noſtri [*i.e. Catholicks*] dicunt ſpecies pa-
'nis & vini, hoc eſt, accidentia illa eſſe adoranda: ſed dicunt cor-
'pus Chriſti verum & reale, quod ſub illis ſpeciebus latet, debere adorari. When then the *Roman* Church, ſpeaking of ſupreme Adoration, explains her language of *adoring the Sacrament*, to mean only adoring Chriſt's Body, and ſo Chriſt as preſent there; and not adoring any other thing whatever (ſubſtance, or accident) that is preſent there, or that is alſo included in the word *Sacrament*: that accuſation, which her uſing ſuch language of *adoring the Sacrament* can ſeemingly expoſe her to, is at the moſt, not of an *error*, but an improper expreſſion. But the propriety of language dutiful Sons ought to learn from, not teach, their Mother; who alſo ſpeaks that which hath deſcended to her from former times.

Nei-

Neither will it follow from Catholicks using the word *Sacrament* precisely in this sense, exclusively to any other matter save Christ's Body, that therefore one may use the word *Sacrament* promiscuously for Christ's Body, in what respect soever we speak of it; and, as well or as properly say, that the Sacrament, meaning Christ's Body, is in the heavens at God's right hand, or was on the Cross, or the like. For tho [*Sacrament*] thus applied involves no other subject or thing at all but Christ's Body; yet it *connotes*, besides it, the place or manner of its presence; signifying this Body only as present in the Mysteries; not as a term adequate to, and convertible with, it, being in whatever time and place.

I think these Testimonies produced both out of the Council of *Trent*, and other *Catholick* Authors, and also out of *Protestants* confessing so much of them, do show sufficiently the great extravagancy of those *Protestant* Authors who tell their Readers, that the state of this controversy is not, Whether *Christ's Body*, and so Christ in the Sacrament be adorable with supreme Honours? but whether the *Sacrament*; and then by *Sacrament* are pleased to understand the *Symbols*? and then, to confute the Doctrine of *Rome*, argue, that no *Creature*, as the Symbols are, is capable of Divine Honour. "The state of the Controversy (saith a late Writer of 'theirs*) is, Whether proper Divine Worship in the time of receiving the Eucharist may be given to the Elements on the account of a Corporal Presence of Christ under them? And against it he affirms, —"That supposing the Divine Nature present in any thing gives no ground upon that account to give the same 'worship to the thing wherein he is present, as I do to Christ himself. So Bishop *Andrews*, "Rex Christum in Eucharistia vere adorandum statuit, —at non Sacramentum, terrenam scilicet partem. *And* — "Nos in mysteriis carnem Christi adoramus, Sacramentum [*i.e. the Symbols*] nulli adoramus. So Dr. *Taylor*, (*Real Presence p.* 335. "The Commandement to worship God alone is so express; the distance between God and bread dedicated to the 'service is so vast, —that, if it had been intended that we should 'have worshipped the H. Sacrament, the H: Scriptures would have 'called it God, or *Jesus Christ*. And *Dissuasive* §. 5. *p.*76. he affirms the Church of *Rome* to give Divine Honour to the Symbols or Elements, and so to a Creature the due and incommunicable propriety of God. So they vainly also undertake to shew, that the Primitive Church did not terminate their Adoration upon the Elements; that the Fathers, when they speak of worship, speak of worshipping the Flesh of Christ in the Mysteries, or Symbols; not

§. 15.

* Stillingfleet Rom. Idol. p. 117.

of worshiping the Mysteries or Symbols. These, I say, are great extravagances: whilst the *Roman* Church owns or imposes no such Doctrine of Divine Adoration due to the Elements, and the true Controversy on their side is only this; 1. Whether the *Body and Blood of Christ*, prescinding from whatever symbol is or may be there, is *adorable*, as being present in the Sacrament with these symbols? (This is affirmed by *Catholicks*: more than this needs not be so;) And 2. Whether the *Adoration of Christ's Body*, and so of Christ as present, if it should not be so, *will amount to Idolatry?*

§. 16. If we here make a further enquiry into the Schoolmen concerning the Adoration or Veneration due to the Symbols, they state the same toward them as toward Images, the sacred Utensils, the H. name of *Jesus*, and other Holy things. "Omnes (saith *Vasquez, in 3. Thom. tom. 1. disp.* 108. *c.* 12.) eodem modo de specie-'bus Sacramenti, quo de Imaginibus, philosophari debent. And then of Images we know the Definition of the 2*d.* Council of *Nice* referred to by *Trent* —*non latria.* And for what they say of Images I refer you to the preceding Discourse on them, §. 42. *&c.* It is true, that some of the later Schoolmen (to defend the expressions of some of the former) have endeavoured to show how a latrical, qualified, secondary co-adoration may *improprie* or *per accidens* be said to be given to the symbols also, as sacramentally joyned with our Lord's body, and as this body is as it were vested with them; such as, say they, when Christ was adored here on earth, was given also to his garments, *i.e.* without making in the act of worship a mental separation of his person from his clothes; as *Bellarmin* explains it *de Euchar. l.* 4. *c.* 29. — "Neque enim (saith he) 'jubebant Christum vestibus nudari antequam adorarent; aut ani-'mo & cogitatione separabant a vestibus cum adorarent; sed sim-'pliciter Christum, ut tunc se habebat, adorabant: tametsi ratio 'adorandi non erant vestes, imo nec ipsa Humanitas, sed sola Divinitas. Or do allow the giving of the external sign of *Latria* to them: as Bowing to, Kissing, Embracing them; but this without any the least internal act of *latria*, or any other honour or submission directed to them, which such inanimate things are uncapable of; as *Vasquez* explains it; who is so prodigal of this external sign of honour, after he hath stript it of any internal *latria*, or other worship whatever that may accompany it; that he allows this external sign not only to all Holy things, but to any Creature whatever, (in our inward adoration mean-while only of God,) upon the general relation they have to him. But indeed such an ab-

abſtraction of the external ſign from any internal honour or reſpect (as other Catholicks cenſure his opinion) makes theſe outward geſtures, without any mental intention attending them as to ſuch object, like thoſe of a puppet or engine, utterly inſignificant: and ſo *Vaſquez*, inſtead of communicating the *latria* to Images, to the Symbols, to other Holy things, ſeems, in the judgment of others, to allow them no honour or veneration at all; and ſo, in ſeeming to ſay too much, to ſay too little; which hath been more largely diſcourſed before, *Of Images* §.42. *&c.* And a late Author * might have done well, in mentioning this Author's opinion, to have given alſo a true relation of it, affirming only an external ſign of honour given to the creature void of any internal the leaſt reſpect to them; "Ita ut tota mentis intentio in Exemplar, "non in Imaginem [*or, Deum, non Creaturam*] feratur: which would eaſily have taken away all that malignity he faſtens upon it. This for *Vaſquez*. And as for *Bellarmin's* adoration *improper* and *per accidens*, Biſhop *Forbes* tells us *l.*2. *c.*2. §.11. "Sententia iſta "*Bellarmini* plurimis Doctoribus Romanenſibus diſplicet. And *Bellarmin* himſelf, as appears by the former citations, waving theſe School diſputes, tells us, —"Status Quæſtionis non eſt niſi, *An Chriſtus in Euchariſtia ſit adorandus?* i. e. no more is defined, decided, impoſed on Chriſtians faith by the Church, than this: nor more needs be diſputed with, or maintained againſt, Proteſtants, than this. [*This in the 2d. place from* §. 11. *Of Catholicks profeſſing their Adoration with Divine worship of Chriſt only preſent in the Sacrament with the Symbols, not of the Symbols; or, not, of the Sacrament, if taken for the Symbols.*]

* Stillingfleet Rom. Idol. p.129.

3*ly*. Therefore alſo Catholicks *ground their Adoration* (a thing Cardinal *Perron* much inſiſts upon in his Reply to King *James*) *not on Tranſubſtantiation*, (tho both Tranſubſtantiation and Conſubſtantiation involve it; ſo that, either of theſe maintained, Adoration neceſſarily follows) as if, Tranſubſtantiation defeated, Adoration is ſo too; *but on a Real Preſence* with the Symbols; which in general is agreed on by the *Lutheran* together with them. Which Adoration they affirm due with all the ſame circumſtances wherewith it is now performed, tho Chriſt's Body were preſent with the Symbols, neither as under the accidents of Bread, as they ſay; nor under the ſubſtance of Bread, as the *Lutheran* ſaith; but, tho after ſome other unknown manner, diſtinct from both: and if they were convinced of the error of Tranſubſtantiation, and of the truth of the preſence of the ſubſtance of the Bread unchanged; yet as long as not confuted in the point of *Real-Preſence*, they would never the leſs §. 17.

less for this continue to adore the self same Object, as now, in the self same place, namely, the Body of Christ still present there with the Symbols, and therefore there adorable; tho present after another manner than they imagined. See the argument of *Barnesius* a *Roman* Writer *apud Forbes.l.*2.*c.*2. §. 12. "Corpus Christi ibi 'est cum pane vel permanente, vel transeunte, uno vel alio modo, '& per consequens non est idololatria adorare Christum ibi in Eu-'charistia realiter præsentem. See in *Conc. Trid.*13.§.*c.*5. the reason immediately following the requiring of Adoration, "–Nam 'illum eundem Deum præsentem in eo [*i.e. Sacramento*] adesse cre-'dimus, quem Pater introducens in orbem terrarum dicit, *Et adorent eum* &c.

If therefore the *Roman* Church enjoyns these three: 1. To believe *Christ's Corporal presence* in the Sacrament. 2. To believe such presence *by way of Transubstantiation.* 3. To *adore Christ* as being there present: It follows not that she enjoyns the third in order to the second; but may only, in order to the first; as the first being (without the second) a sufficient ground thereof. Neither can I, disbelieving the second, yet believing the first, refuse obedience to the third, that is, to worship the same object in the same place, as those do who also believe the second: and in my believing both the first and the second, yet may I nevertheless ground the third only on that, which is by Christians more generally agreed on; and still worship out of no other intention, after Transubstantiation believed, than I did before I believed it (when only I held in general a corporal presence) or than others do; who, believing a Real presence, do not yet believe Transubstantiation.

§. 18. 4. Let us, then, not granting it, suppose Transubstantiation an error; yet if the tenent of Corporal or Real presence (as held by the *Lutherans*, or others) be true, *Catholicks* plead, *their Adoration is no way frustrated, but still warrantable*, and to be continued.

§. 19. 5*ly*. Suppose not only Transubstantiation, but Real presence an error, and the *Lutheran* and the *Roman* Catholick both mistaken; yet there can be *no pretence why these later*, in such Adoration, (grounded by both on Real presence with the Symbols) *will not be as excusable from Idolatry as the other.* For, thus far these two Parties agree: 1. That *Christ is corporally present*: 2. That *he may be worshipped*: 3. That *no other there but He may be worshipped*; not Bread, nor any other meer creature. 4. That *nothing visible in the Sacrament is He, or his Body*; which is present only invisibly, without any thing visible, inhering, or appertaining to it, as the subject

ject thereof. They differ only about the manner of the presence of this invisible Substance. The one saith, it is there together with the bread; the other saith there, instead of the bread, and the bread away; a thing also to God possible, for any thing we know. The one saith, he is there both under the substance and accidents of bread; the other, there under the accidents only of the bread. Now, whilst both worship the same Object in the same place, and veiled with the same sensible accidents, if the one adoring him as being under the substance of bread, (he not being there) are freed from any Idolatry in such worship; the other adoring him as being under the accidents of bread, (he not being there) cannot be made hereby Idolaters: since they say, and freely profess, that, if his body be not there, under those appearances, but the same substance still under them which was formerly; then they confess it a creature, and renounce all adoration of it.

Whereas therefore it is objected, That the substance of bread only being in that place, where they suppose Christ's Body, and not any Bread, to be, therefore in worshipping the thing in that place, they worship bread; this were a right charge, if they affirmed, that they worshipped the substance that is in that place under such accidents *whatever* it be: but this none say; but, that they worship it only upon supposition that it is Christ's Body, and not bread; and that for this supposition they have a rational ground, (of which by and by.) Now, saying they worship it, because it is so, is saying, if it be not so, they intend no worship to it. He that saith, I give divine Adoration to that which is under the *species* of Bread, because believed by me, or, if you will, certainly known by me (but he, indeed, mistaking) to be Christ's Body, and so Christ present, is yet far from saying, I worship whatever is under the *species* of Bread, whether it be Christ's Body or no. And he that saith the later of these, if bread happen to be there, is willingly granted an ἀρτόλατρος; but not so the former.

Daillè, as it much concerns him, excuseth a *Lutheran* adoring upon a falsly supposed real or corporal presence of our Lord from any idolatry, for this reason: Because, saith he, * "such adoration is 'mistaken not in this, —that it addresseth it self to an Object not 'adorable, but only that by error it seeks and thinks to enjoy it in 'a place where it is not; and so he saith it becomes only *vain and unprofitable* &c. as is said before §. 8. The same therefore must he allow to *Catholicks*, if meaning nothing more by their language of *Adoratio Sacramenti* than *Christi in Sacramento*; as hath been shewed before §. 12. &c that they do not: and that the contention

* 1. Reply to Chumont. p. 63

tion about this is a meer *Logomachy*; and that they also, as the others, ground their Adoration not on Transubstantiation, but Corporal Presence.

§. 20. As for *Costerus*, or perhaps some other *Roman* Writers, that say, if Transubstantiation [*where also they must mean*, or a Corporal Presence, *some other way*] were not true, the Idolatry of Heathens is much more excusable, than of Christians, that worship a bit of bread: they do not, or at least are not necessitated to grant the consequence necessary, that, if Transubstantiation or Corporal Presence fail, then they must adore the bread; which bread mean while they deny also to be there: no more than *Protestants* do or think themselves necessitated to grant this consequence, That if Consubstantiation or Corporal Presence fail, then the *Lutherans* do adore the Bread; which bread also tho the *Lutherans* affirm to be there, yet do other Protestants deny that the *Lutherans* worship. But *Costerus*, and others, only maintain this: That, supposing that which is imposed upon them, *viz.* that *Catholicks*, if there be no Transubstantiation, do worship a bit of bread; the Heathen Idolatry, in their worshipping a golden or silver Image, or some living creature *&c*, would be far more tolerable, and more noble. Shewing by this (as Dr. *Taylor* expresseth it, *Liberty of Prophesying p.* 258.) "that they are so far from worshipping the bread in 'such case, that themselves profess it to be idolatry to do so; and 'intending, by advancing this fault the higher, the more to make 'appear the impossibility of such an error, its for so many hundred 'years possessing the Universal Church of Christ, assisted by our Sa-'viour to the end of the world, and the Pillar of Truth: and think-'ing the greatness of this crime a good argument of the Churches 'innocency therein; whilst perhaps, in some smaller matters, she 'might be liable to a mistake. "I do believe (saith Mr. *Thorn-'dike*, *Epilog.* 3. *l.* 30. *c. p.* 353. that it hath bin said by great Do-'ctors of the Church of *Rome*, that they must needs think them-'selves flat idolaters, if they could think that the Elements are not 'abolished: That shews with what confidence they would have 'the world apprehend, that they hold their opinion; but not, that 'the consequence is true; unless that which I have said be reprovable. And again, in *Just weights c.* 19. —"When they say, 'they must be flat Idolaters, if the Elements be there, zeal to their 'opinion makes them say more than they should say. —Lastly, if *Costerus* saith, that Transubstantiation failing, Catholicks do worship the Bread, *Bellarmin de Eucha. l.* 4. *c.* 30. and others, say just the contrary, arguing thus concerning a Catholicks worship-

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ing an unconsecrated Hoast, which is nothing but bread, —'Adoratio ex intentione [*i.e. such as is rationally grounded*] potissimum 'pendet. Quare qui [*talem*] panem adorat, quòd certo credat 'non esse panem, sed Christum, is proprie & formaliter Christum 'adorat, non panem. Which may as well be said of an Hoast consecrated, that is not transubstantiated (when the adorer upon probable grounds believes it to be so,) but remains still bread, —"Qui 'hunc panem adorat, quod certo credat non esse panem, sed Christum, is proprie & formaliter Christum adorat, non panem. And the same, much-what, as by *Bellarmin*, is said by Dr. *Hammond, Disc. of Idolatry*, §.64. "That, supposing their error be grounded on 'an honest and blameless misunderstanding of Scripture, it is, tho 'material, yet perhaps in them not formal idolatry; because, 'if they were not verily perswaded that it were God, they profess 'they would never think of worshipping it. Thus he.

This in the 5*th*. place of not only Transubstantiation, but Real Presence being supposed an error, yet that the *Roman* practice, or error, compared with the *Lutheran*, the first is no more peccant than the later; and therefore that the *Lutheran* by *Protestants* being excused from Idolatry, so ought the *Roman Catholick* too.

6. Both these being supposed errors, and indeed no Presence of Christ's Body with the Symbols at all, as is by them both imagined there; yet, *such Adoration*, by the one or the other, of *Christ*, who is a true object of supreme Adoration, and only by them mistaken to be in some place where he is not, *cannot be termed any such Idolatry, as is the worshiping of an object not at all adorable*. So, for example, If we suppose a Heathen worshiping a Heathen-God, as having some particular residence in an Image; or an *Israelite* worshiping the true God of *Israel*, as having a special residence in the Calf at *Sinai*; or in *Jeroboam's* Calves, called also by him *Cherubims*; or lastly, a *Manichean*, mistaking nothing in the Nature or Attributes of our Lord Christ, save that he thinks him to have some particular residence in the Sun, and so worshiping him as present there: None of these would be any such Idolatry, or parallel to it, as that of another Heathen worshiping the very Molten Image; or *Israelite* worshiping the very Calf for his God; or *Manichean* worshiping the Sun it self for Christ: Again; neither can any of these that adore only God or Christ as specially present where indeed he is not, (*e.g.* as fancied God so present in the Calf, or Christ in the Sun,) if we suppose something else invisibly and undiscerned by him to be there present, as if we imagin an Angel in the Sun, or a Serpent within the Calf, therefore be said §. 21.

to adore such Angel, or Serpent: and whatever fault may be in such worship, yet it would be great injustice to accuse such *Israelite* or *Manichean* of adoring such Angel or Serpent upon this indefinite Proposition, that *he professeth to worship that which he believes to be present there*; especially if such person do also declare against the adoration of any such particular things, if, contrary to his belief, there present. Neither then can it be justly deduc'd from a *Lutheran's* or *Catholick's* adoring Christ as under the substance or *species* of bread, that therefore these adore the thing it self that is present under them.

§.22. 7. Whatever fault or also idolatry it may be called (tho not so gross as the former) in a *Manichean* that worships Christ in the Sun, or in an *Israelite* that worships God as specially present or resident in the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel* or that at *Sinai*, because it is adoring a fancy of their own without any rational ground or pretence thereof; and however meerly a good intention grounded upon a culpable ignorance can excuse none from idolatry, or any other fault, (which as it is often pressed by *Protestants*, is freely granted by *Catholicks*.) Yet since *Daillè* (and, I suppose, other Protestants with him) doth allow, not an absolutely certain, but a reasonable, tho mistaken ground or motive of Adoration, sufficient for avoiding the just imputation of Idolatry, [upon which account a Disciple adoring with divine worship a person very much resembling our Saviour, when he was upon earth; or, supposing a consecrated Hoast truly adorable, one, who adores an Hoast placed on the Altar and, by some deficiency in the Priest, not truly consecrated, is freely absolved by them herein from committing any idolatry. See before §. 8.] Hence therefore if *Catholicks can produce a rational ground of their apprehending Christ present in the Eucharist*, tho possibly mistaken in it, *they are to be excused from idolatry*, upon the same terms.

§.23. (1.) Now here first; the *Lutherans* being allowed to have such a plausible ground or motive for their Adoration, whereby they become by other *Protestants* absolved from idolatry in adoring our Lord as present there, (only their Adoration *inutile* (saith *Daille*) *et tombent en neant*,) I see not why the ground of *Roman Catholicks* should be any whit less valued than theirs. For, if we compare the one's Con—with the others Trans—substantiation, the later seems more agreeable to our Lord's words, *Hoc est Corpus meum*; and to the most plain literal obvious sense thereof *Hoc est Corpus meum*, by a change of the Bread, rather than *Hoc est Corpus meum*, by a conjunction with the Bread: and therefore is the *Roman* equal-

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lect with, or else preferred before, the *Lutheran* sense by many Protestants, that are neutral and dissent from both. ["Lon 'gius Consubstantiatorum (saith Bishop *Forbes, de Euchar. l.* 1. '*c.* 4. §.5.) quam Transubstantiatorum sententiam a Christi ver- 'bis recedere, sive litera spectetur, sive sensus, affirmat R. *Hospi-* '*nianus* & cæteri *Calviniani* communiter. And *Hospinian. histor. Sacram.* 2. *part. fol.* 6. saith of *Luther*, —"Errorem errore commu- 'tavit, nec videns suam opinionem non habere plus, imo etiam mi- 'nus coloris, quam Scholasticorum & Papæ. And see the same judgment of the *Helvetian* Ministers, and *Calvin, apud Hospinian. f.* 212.] But next; *Catholicks* founding their Adoration not on Transubstantiation, but on Corporal Presence, the same common ground of this they have with *Lutherans*, viz. *our Lord's words implying*; and so it must excuse both, or neither.

(2.) Laying aside this comparison, let us view more particularly what *rational ground* Catholicks exhibit of this their belief of a corporal Presence in the Eucharist, and so of Adoration. §. 24.

I. This their Ground then of such a corporal Presence in the Eucharist (after a possibility thereof granted also by sober Protestants *) is pretended to be *Divine Revelation*, and if it be so as pretended, then no argument from our senses, and against it, valid:) and that (as was said but now) taken in its most plain, literal, natural, and Grammatical sense, in the words, *Hoc est Corpus meum*; so often iterated in the Gospel, and again by S. *Paul*, without any variation or change, or explication of that which yet is pretended by *Calvinists* to be a metaphorical expression; and such, if we will believe them, as this, that the *Church is his Body*, Eph. 1. 23. or, *He the true Vine*, Jo. 15. 1. A great argument this, (the Apostles punctual retaining still, in their expressing the Institution thereof, the same language and words,) that our Lord intended it literally, as he spoke it. Pretended also to be Divine Revelation from many other Scriptures, (the citing and pressing of which takes up all *Bellarmin's* first Book *de Eucharistia*, to which I refer the inquisitive Reader:) but especially from the Discourse *Jo.* 6. Which Apostle writing his Gospel so late, when the communion of our Lord's Body and Blood was so much frequented and celebrated in the Church, seems therefore to have omitted the mention of it at all in his story of the Passion, and the time of its first Institution: because he had dilated so much upon it before in relating a Sermon of our Lords made in *Gallilee* about the time of the yearly Feast of eating the Paschal Lamb. *Jo.* 6. 4. &c. —"The literal and grammatical sense of which Divine Revelation (saith Dr. *Taylor*,

* See Guide in Controversy Disc. 1. §. 62.

'*Liberty of Prophesying.* §. 20. *p.* 258.) if that sense were intended, 'would warrant *Catholicks* to do violence to all the Sciences in the 'circle. And that Transubstantiation is openly and violently a-'gainst natural Reason, would be no argument to make them dis-'believe, who believe the mystery of the Trinity in all those nice-'ties of explication which are in the Schools, (and which now a-'days pass for the doctrine of the Church,) [*or he might have said,* '*which are in the* Athanasian *Creed,*] with as much violence to the 'principles of natural and supernatural Philosophy, as can be ima-'gined to be in the point of Transubstantiation. And elsewhere (*Real Presence p.* 240.) saith, as who will not say? — "That if it 'appear, that God hath affirmed Transubstantiation, he for his 'part will burn all his Arguments against, and make publick A-'mends.

§. 25. II. Again; *Catholicks* have for their *Rational ground* of following this sense, in opposition to any other given by Sectaries, the *Declaration* of it by the most Supreme and Universal *Church-Authority* that hath been assembled in former times for the decision of this controversie long before the birth of *Protestantism*; a brief account of which Councils, to the number of seven or eight (if the 2*d. Nicene* [*Act.*6. *tom.*3.] be reckoned with the rest) before that of *Trent*, all agreeing in the same sentence, see concerning the *Guide in Controversy, disc.* 1. §. 57. *&c,* [Out of the number of which Councils said to establish such a doctrine, as Bishop *Cosins, Hist. Transub. c.* 7. *p.* 149. after many others, hath much laboured to subduct the great *Lateran* Council under *Innocent* 3. upon pretence of the reputed Canons thereof their being *proposed* therein *only by the Pope*, but *not passed* or confirmed *by the Council*; so another late *Protestant* Writer upon another Protestant interest, *viz.* out of the 3*d.* Canon of the same Council, *charging* not only the *Pope* but the *Councils* themselves, and the *Catholick* Religion, as *invading the Rights of Princes*, hath with much diligence very well vindicated these Canons against the others, as the true Acts of this Great Assembly, and not only the designs of the Pope; and copiously shewed them (as in truth they were) owned as such, both in the same, and the following times. And thus the Doctrine of Transubstantiation in this Council is firmly established, whilst *Catholicks* contend, in the other Canon concerning *Secular Powers*, the Sense of the Council is by *Protestants* mistaken.

*Mr. *Dodwel* Considerations of present concernment. §. 31. p. 165

Now upon this, I ask what more *reasonable* or *secure* course in matters of Religion, (whether as to *Faith* or *Practice*) can a private and truly humble Christian take, than, where the sense of a

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Divine Revelation is disputed, to submit to that interpretation thereof, which the Supreme Authority in the Church, that hath bin heretofore convened about such matters, hath so often and always in the same manner decided to him; and so to act according to its Injunctions?

III. But, if these Councils be declined as not being so ancient as some may expect; *i.e.* not held before some controversy hapned in the Church touching the point they decided, *Catholicks* still have another very *Rational ground* of such a sense of the Divine Writ, viz. *the evident testimony of the more Primitive Times.* Which that they have conveyed the Tradition of such a Sense to the present Church, and to these former Councils, (to repeat what hath bin said already in *Considerations* on the Council of *Trent*, §. 321. *n.* 1. because perhaps by scarcity of copies that Book may come to few hands) I think will be clear to any one, not much interessed, that shall at his leisure spend a few hours in a publick Library to read, entire, and not by quoted parcels, the discourses on this Subject; Of St. *Ambros. de Myster. init. cap.* 9. — the Author *de Sacramentis*, ascribed to the same Father, 4. *l.* 4. and 5. chapters. -*Cyril. Hierosol. Cateches. Mystagog.* 4. & 5. -*Chrysost. in Matt. Hom.* 83. —*In Act. Hom.* 21. —*In* 1 *Cor. Hom.* 24. —*Greg. Nissen. Orat. catechet. ch.*36,37. —*Euseb. Emissen.* or *Cæsarius Arelatensis de Paschate Serm.* 5. —*Hilarius Pictav. de Trinitate*, the former part of the 8*th.* Book. -*Cyril. Alexand. in Evangel. Ioan. l.* 10. *c.* 13. Concerning the authenticalness of which pieces enough also hath bin said elsewhere. §. 26.

IV. In a consequence of, and succession from, this doctrine of those Primitive times, and of the later Councils of the Church, when this Point was brought into some Dispute and Controversie, a Catholick hath for a *Rational ground* of his faith, and practice, *the universal doctrine and practice of the later* both Eastern and Western *Churches* till *Luther's* time, and at the *present* also, excepting his followers. For the Eastern Churches (disputed by some Protestants) both their belief of a *corporal presence* with the Symbols, and practice of *Adoration*, see what hath bin said at large in the *Guide in controversy, disc.* 3. *c.* 8. (where also are exhibited the testimonies of many learned Protestants freely conceding it) and again, in *Considerations* on the Council of *Trent*, §. 321. *n.* 22. *p.* 313. and *n.* 9. *p.* 294. See also the late eminent evidences of the faith and practice of these Eastern Churches at this day, collected by Monsieur *Arnaud* in his two Replies to *Claude*; a brief account whereof also is given in the *Guide, Disc.* 3. §. 81. *n.* 2. &c. In which §. 27.

which matter (whereas one of the chiefest and commonest Pleas of Protestants is the Greek and Eastern Churches their according with them, whereby they seem to out-number the Roman) if any will but take the courage, notwithstanding his secular Interest, candidly to examin it, I doubt not he will receive a full Satisfaction.

Lastly, see *D. Blondel* (one much esteemed by Protestants, for his knowledg in ancient Church-History) granting an alteration in the Doctrine concerning our Lord's Presence in the Eucharist (an Alteration he means from that which is now maintained by Protestants, and was by the former Antiquity) begun in the *Greek* Church after A. D. 754. * *i.e.* begun so soon as any dispute hapned in the Eastern Church concerning this *Presence:* which dispute was first occasioned there upon an Argument which was taken from the Eucharist, and urged against Images by the Council of *Constantinople* under *Constantius Copronymus*, and was contradicted by *Damascen*, and shortly by the 2*d. Nicene* Council. In which opinion of the 2*d. Nicene* Council and *Damascen*, *Blondel* freely acknowledgeth the Greek Churches to have continued to this day. See *c.* 16. *p.* 399. Again, granting an Alteration in the same Doctrine (as is said before) begun in the Western Church A. D. 818.* *i.e.* as soon as the like dispute hapned about this Point in the Western parts: which dispute there was occasioned by the Council held at *Frankfort* under *Charls* the *Great*, opposing the expressions of the foresaid *Constantinopolitan* Council in like manner as the 2*d. Nicene* Council had done before. Lastly, if we ask him, what this Alteration in the East first, and afterward in the West, was; 1. He maketh it much-what the same in both: And then he explains it to be a kind of Impanation, or Consubstantiation, or Assumption of the Bread by our Lord Christ. His words *c.* 19. are these *Des l'An.* 818. *&c.* — "Some among the *Latines* did (as it 'were in imitation of the *Greek*) conceive a kind of Consubstanti-'ation, partly like, partly unlike, to what many *Germans* [*he means* '*Lutherans*] now maintain; which, to speak properly, ought to be 'called *Impanation*, or Assumption of the Bread by the *Word* of *God*. And *c.* 20. he goes on, —"The opinion of *Paschasius* [*whom he makes the Leader in the Western, as* Damascen *in the Greek Church*] 'had advanced before A D. 900. an Impanation of the *Word*, for-'tified and getting credit by degrees; the establishment of which (saith he *p.* 440.) both *Damascen* and *Paschasius* designed. Wherein (he saith *p.* 441.) they supposed a kind of Identity between the Sacrament and the Natural Body of Christ, founded upon the in-

habitation

* Esclaircissements sur l' Eucharistie c. 15.

* See ibid. c. 18.

habitation of the Deity in them; which at last produced, he saith, the establishment of Transubstantiation, under Pope *Innocent* the *3d.*

Here then 1. We see granted, both of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, the same Tenent. 2. We may observe, that this Tenent of *Impanation* he imposeth on them, when well examined, is found much more gross and absurd than that of *Transubstantiation*: For which see what is said in *Bellarmin, de Euchar. l.3. c.* 13. *&* 15. Or in *Suarez, de Sacrament. Disp.*49. But 3. see in *Considerations on the Council of Trent §.* 321. *n.* 13. and *n.* 16. *&c.* that this Doctrine of *Damascen* and the *Greek* Church, and afterwards of *Paschasius* and the *Latin*, before *Innocent* the *third's* time, was plain Transubstantiation; and is misrepresented by *Blondel* for Impanation; and therefore never hath the *Greek* Church hitherto had any contest or clashing with the *Roman* concerning this point. And see the Concessions also of other Protestants very frequent and more candid, of Transubstantiation held by the *Greek* Churches of later times, as well as by the *Roman*, produced in the R*ational Account concerning the Guide in Controversies, Disc.*3.*c.*8. 4*ly.* Lastly, these Churches, in which, he saith, such an Alteration was made from the former Doctrine of Antiquity, deny it at all so to be; and affirm, that, when some new opinions appeared, they maintained and vindicated it as the Doctrine of the Fathers; their Proofs of it being also extracted out of the Fathers Testimonies. Now then to stand against such a strong stream of both East and West running constantly in this course, seems to Catholicks, with S. *Austin*, very unreasonable. —" Similiter etiam (saith he, *Epist.*118. *Januario.)* siquid horum tota per orbem frequentat Ecclesia: nam & ' hinc, quin ita faciendum sit, disputare, insolentissimæ insaniæ est. And, —" Græci omnes *(*saith Bishop *Forbes, de Euchar. l.* 2.*c.* 2.*)* [*as* ' *well as the* Roman *Church*] adorant Christum in Eucharistia: Et ' quis ausit omnes hos Christianos idololatriæ arcessere & damnare?

§. Lastly; besides this great Body, Catholicks have since *Luther's* time in the Reformation no small number of Protestants, I mean such as are the genuine Sons of the Church of *England*, proceeding thus far, as to confess both a R*eal* Presence of our Lord's Body and Blood in the Eucharist, and *Adoration* of it as present there; a real presence of it to each worthy Receiver, tho not to the Elements. And *Hooker*, if he mistook not the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in his time, saith, *Eccles. Pol. l.*5.*§.*67. —" Wherefore should the world continue still distracted, and rent with so ' many manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no controversy. *§.* 28.

'troverſy ſaving only about the ſubject where Chriſt is? —Nor 'doth any thing reſt doubtful in this, but whether, when the Sa- 'crament is adminiſtred, Chriſt be whole within man only, or 'elſe his Body and Blood be alſo externally ſeated in the very con- 'ſecrated Elements themſelves. So that if *Hooker* and his party are in the right, Catholicks do not miſtake Chriſt's Body as preſent in a place where it is not; but only in thinking it in that preſent to one thing, the Elements, when it is ſo only to another, the Receiver of them. But then the ſame Catholicks have another half of the Reformation, *viz.* all the *Lutheran* Proteſtants, that affirm, with the *Roman* Church, Chriſt's Body preſent alſo to the Elements, or Symbols. And ſee Mr. *Thorndike* alſo *Epilog. l.*3.*c*3. much for this preſence of Chriſt's Body to be *in*, *with*, or *under* the Elements, immediately upon, and by the conſecration of them, (which conſecration alſo he placeth (*l.*3. 4.*c. p.* 24.) in the bleſſing of the Elements before the breaking *&c.* mentioned before §. 7.). Look back now upon all theſe Pleas of Catholicks, and ſee if they will not make up at leaſt a *reaſonable ground* or motive of their Adoration. A reaſonable ground; I ſay not here (what I might) ſufficient to ſecure their faith from all ſuſpicion of error, but (which ſerves my purpoſe) to ſecure them from Idolatry in their Adoration, tho they ſhould be miſtaken; when as other perſons, becauſe proceeding on like reaſonable motives, are by Proteſtants in their Adoration of a miſtaken Preſence, or Object, excuſed from it; (See before §.8.) As, for example, the *Lutheran*; the Adorer of one much reſembling our Lord here on earth; the Adorer of an unconſecrated Hoaſt, or Wafer placed on the Altar, *&c.* eſpecially when Catholicks in crediting ſuch Divine Revelation of Chriſt's Preſence, and ſo for their Adoration, receive no contradiction (as it is pretended they do) from their ſenſes: becauſe they adore, I mean with Divine Adoration, nothing viſible, or ſenſible at all, nor any ſubſtance inviſible wherein any thing that occurs to their ſenſes inheres; but only underſtand Chriſt's Body preſent there, where their ſenſes can no way certainly, and againſt any pretended Divine Revelation, inform them, either when it is preſent, or not; ſince, *ſalvis omnibus phænomenis*, all appearances granted moſt true, ſuch a Preſence is poſſible.

Theſe rational Grounds of Catholicks for Adoration, which we expected ſhould have bin moſt ſtrictly examined by thoſe who conclude the *Roman* practice herein Idolatry, are ſlightly paſſed over by *Daillé*, in pronouncing that this error of Catholicks *vient toute entiere de leur paſſion.* Apolog. des Eglis: Reform. c. 11. p. 90.

And

and after in reducing all their ground thereof to a —*la seule authorité du Pape & de son Concile*: and by Dr. *Taylor*, *Real Pres.* §. 13. *p.* 346. in calling them —*some trifling pretences made out of some sayings of the Fathers.* Elsewhere, indeed, when he was in a more charitable temper (*Liberty of Prophes. p.* 258.) he saith, that, 'for a motive to such an opinion, *Roman-Catholicks* have a Divine 'Revelation, whose literal and Grammatical Sense, if that Sense 'was intended, would warrant them to do violence to all the Sci-'ences in the circle: but prudently there omits their plea of *Catholick Tradition*, securing to them such a literal sense of the Text. Dr. *Stillingfleet* (*Rom. Idol. c.*2.§.7.) saith first, —"That, if a mis-'take in this case will excuse the *Romanist*, it would excuse the 'grossest idolatry in the world. And in comparing two persons, one worshipping Christ as really present in the Sun, another, Christ, as really present in the Sacrament, he saith, as inconsiderately as magisterially, —"That, supposing a mistake in both, we 'are not to enquire into the reasons of the mistake, [*i.e. as he saith before, concerning the probability of the one mistake, more than of the other*] "but the influence it hath upon our actions. *So he.* But, what is more manifest, than that the influence which a mistake hath upon our actions, as to making them culpable or innocent, is not always the same, but very various, and often contrary; rendring them sometimes blameless, sometimes faulty, according as the mistake is ex- or in-excusable? Next; he grants *Ibid.*§.5. a *Catholick Tradition of Transubstantiation* to be a sufficient ground for Adoration: But the Catholick Tradition, that is pleaded here necessary for Adoration, is only that of a *corporal* Presence. Now, for a sufficient evidence of such a Tradition, I refer the conscientious Reader to what hath bin said before, waving that of Transubstantiation as to this controversie, tho the same Catholick Tradition authorizeth both; namely, a Corporal Presence by a mutation of the Elements into our Lord's Body. This from §. 24. *Of the Rational grounds Catholicks have for their Adoration.* §. 29.

8*ly.* For such *Rational grounds* therefore of their worship as are here given (and *not* from any *excess of charity*, or from the singular *Fancies* of some few, tho learned men, as Dr. *Stillingfleet*, in his Preface to *Roman Idolatry* would insinuate) *Idolatry is by many Protestants* of late either *not at all*, or but *faintly charged on the Church of Rome.* For first, see Mr. *Thorndike* in his *Epilogue*, 3. *l.* 30. *c. p.* 350. "— I say first (saith he) that the Adoration of the Eucharist, which 'the Church of *Rome* prescribeth, is not necessarily Idolatry. I say 'not, what it may be accidentally by that intention which some §. 30.

'men may conceal, and may make it idolatry as to God: but I 'speak upon supposition of that intention, which the profession 'of the Church formeth. And in his *Just Weights*, *c.*19. *p.* 125. '—They who give the honour proper to God to his creature, are 'idolaters; they that worship the Hoast give the honour due to 'God to his creature: this is taken for a *Demonstration*, that the 'worship of the Hoast is Idolatry. But will any Papist acknow-'ledg, that he honours the Elements of the Eucharist, or, as he 'thinks, the Accidents of them for God? Will common Reason 'charge him to honour that, which he believes not to be there? 'If they were there, they would not take them for God; and there-'fore they would not honour them for God: And that is it (not '*saying* that they should be idolaters if the elements did remain) 'that must make them idolaters. And *Epilog. p.* 357. in general he saith; —"Whoso admits idolatry [*i. e. in any point what-'ever*] to be taught by the R*oman Church*, can by no means grant 'it to be a Church; the very being whereof supposeth the wor-'ship of one God, exclusive to any thing else. The R*oman-Church*, then, must either be freed from the imputation of commanding any thing that is idolatry, (*i.e.* adoration of a creature for God); or we must affirm, there to be, and to have bin, no true Church of Christ, never since such command of that which they say is idolatry went forth, (which no judicious Protestant I think, hath or dare say of the R*oman-Church*, since the beginning of the Adoration of the Eucharist:) For what Church or Sect of Religion can be Apostate at all, if not a Church committing, and commanding idolatry; even the worshiping of a piece of bread, which themselves made, for that God which made them and heaven and earth?

And thus Bishop *Forbes*, *de Euchar. l.*2.*c.*2. "Perperam ἀρτολατρείᾳ 'R*omanensibus* a plerisque Protestantibus objicitur, & illi idolola-'triæ crassissimæ & gravissimæ ab his insimulantur & damnantur; 'cum plerique R*omanenses*, ut & alii fideles, credant panem conse-'cratum non esse amplius panem, sed corpus Christi; unde illi non 'panem adorant: sed tantum ex suppositione, licet falsa, non ta-'men hæretica, aut impia, vel cum fide directe pugnante, ut supe-'riore libro ostensum est, Christi corpus, quod vere adorandum 'est, adorant. In Eucharistia enim mente discernendum esse Chri-'stum a visibili signo docent ipsi; & Christum quidem adorandum 'esse, non tamen Sacramentum, quia species illæ sunt res creatæ & 'inanimes, & consequenter incapaces adorationis. And *Ibid.* shewing the *Greek* and Eastern Church, as well as the R*oman*, to use it, he

he concludes, *Quis ausit omnes hos Christianos idololatriæ arcessere & damnare?* After the same manner the Arch-Bishop of *Spalato, de Repub. Eccles. 7. l. 11. c. n. 6.* —"Respondeo (*saith he*) me nullum 'idololatricum crimen in adoratione Eucharistiæ, si recte dirigatur 'intentio, agnoscere. Qui enim docent, panem non esse amplius 'panem, sed corpus Christi, illi profecto panem non adorant: sed 'solum ex suppositione, licet falsa, Christi corpus vere adorabile a-'dorant. Non enim nostri dicunt species panis & vini, hoc est, 'accidentia illa esse adoranda.

Bishop *Bramhal*, cited before §.6. —"The Sacrament is to be 'adored, said the Council of *Trent*. The *Sacrament*, i.e. formally 'the Body and Blood of Christ say some of your Authors: we say 'the same. —The *Sacrament*, i.e. the *species* of bread and wine 'say others: that we deny. *Thus he.*

Dr. *Taylor*, in his *Liberty of Prophesying p.* 258. confesseth the Subjects of the Church of R*ome* no Idolaters in this kind; at least so as to worship Bread or any creature with Divine Worship, and as God: for —"It is evident, saith he, that the *Object* of their Adora-'tion (that which is represented to them in their minds, their 'thoughts, and purposes, and by which God principally, if not 'solely, takes estimate of humane actions) in the Blessed Sacra-'ment, is the only true and eternal God, hypostatically joyned 'with his holy Humanity; which Humanity they believe actu-'ally under the veil of the Sacramental signs. And if they thought 'Him not present, they are so far from worshiping the Bread in this 'case, that themselves profess it to be idolatry to do so; which is 'a demonstration that their soul hath nothing in it that is idololatrical, [*i.e. as to the directing this their divine worship to an undue object.*]

Which things if said right by him and the others, the same Dr. *Taylor* is faulty in his charge in R*eal Presence, p.* 334. Faulty I say, in charging on the Church of R*ome*, not their worship of a right Object in a some-way unlawful and prohibited manner, this we are not here examining; but their worship of an undue Object of Adoration, of a creature instead of God: for so he chargeth them there. "If (*saith he there*) they be deceived in their own strict 'Article, [*he means of Transubstantiation,*] then it is certain, they 'commit an act of Idolatry in giving divine honour to a meer crea-'ture, the image, the Sacrament and representment of the Body 'of Christ. Thus he. *When it is evident that the Object* &c, *is the only true and eternal God* &c. as he said before in the place cited, and must say if he will say truth. So, faulty is also *Daille*, (R*eply to Chamont p.* 63.) in his charging the Church of R*ome* to worship

§. 31.

Stillingfl. Rom. Idol. p. 134.

Bread, upon this arguing: *Catholicks adore that substance that is veiled with the accidents of the bread and wine; but this substance is bread*: ergo *they adore bread.* By which arguing he may as well prove the *Lutherans* in the Eucharist to adore a worm or a mite, thus: The *Lutherans* adore that substance which is joyned with the bread; but that substance is a worm or mite: (for such thing may be there with the bread at such time of Adoration) *Ergo*, they adore a worm. Whereas both the *Catholick* and *Lutheran* explain the indefinite term [*that which*,] used in the *major* Proposition, restrictively to the Body of Christ, and exclusively to any other substance whatever, that is, or may be, there, either with the bread, or under its accidents. Faulty also is Dr. *Stillingfleet, Rom. Idol.c.*2. in saying, the Protestants controversie with Catholicks is: 'Whether proper Divine Worship, in the time of receiving the Eu-'charist, may be given to the Elements on the account of a cor-'poral Presence under them. *p.* 117. And, as for the passage in the Council of *Trent, sess.* 13.*c.*5. urged by him there for it, his mistake is shewed before, §. 12. And so, faulty, in his concluding *p.* 118. —"That the immediate term of that Divine Worship 'given by *Catholicks*, is the external and visible signs or elements. And again, *p.* 124. "That, upon the principles of the *Roman* 'Church, no man can be satisfied that he worships not a meer 'creature with divine honour, when he gives Adoration to the 'Hoast: [*when-as Catholicks expound themselves to mean by Hoast in their Adoration, not the Symbols, or* Sacramentum, *but* rem Sacramenti.] Again, *p.*127, 125, 129. —"That, supposing the Di-'vine Nature present in any thing, gives no ground upon that ac-'count to give the same worship to the thing wherein it is pre-'sent.] [*Catholicks grant this as much as he: and doth not himself say 'several times*, "That *Catholicks* condemn the worshiping of a meer 'creature for idolatry?] See §. 4. *p.* 120. —"If (saith he) it 'should be but a meer creature [*that I adore*,] all the world cannot 'excuse me from idolatry, and my own Church [*he means the* Ro-'man] condemns me; all agreeing that this is gross idolatry. Again; *p.* 119. "It is (saith he) a principle indisputable among 'them, [i.e. *Catholicks*,] that to give proper divine honour to a 'creature is idolatry. Again, *p.* 126. he saith, —"he finds it 'generally agreed by the Doctors of the *Roman* Church, that the 'Humane Nature of Christ considered alone, [*i.e. without an Hy-'postatical union to the Divinity*,] ought not to have divine honour 'given to it: [*and therefore neither any other creature whatever, that is not Hypostatically united, as none besides It is.* All these, I say, faulty

and

and mistaken in charging the Church of *Rome* with this *species* of idolatry, of worshiping a creature [*the bread*] instead of Christ; from which the other Protestants clear it.

Lastly, Dr. *Hammond*, in his Treatise of *Idolatry*, §. 64. upon supposition that the ignorance or error of *Catholicks* is grounded on misunderstanding of Scripture, [*I add, so expounded to them by the Supreme Church-Authority,*] seems to charge them rather with a material than a formal idolatry; which material idolatry in many cases is or may be committed without sin; as also material adultery, and the like. His words are: — "That if it be demanded, Whether in this case, that their ignorance or error be grounded on misunderstanding of Scripture, this so simple and not gross ignorance may serve for a sufficient antidote to allay the poyson of such a sin of material, tho perhaps in them not formal, idolatry *&c.* because if they were not verily perswaded that it were God, they profess they would never think of worshiping it? —he had no necessity to define and satisfie it, being only to consider what idolatry is; and not how excusable ignorance or mistake can make it. And indeed Protestant Writers, that will have it to be idolatry, are concerned to make it such a gentle one, as that the practice thereof died in, and it neither particularly confessed, nor repented of, yet excludes not from salvation; or else they must damn all those who lived in the visible communion of the Church *Catholick* for five or six hundred years by their own confession. §. 32.

9. Mean-while Catholicks willingly grant to Protestants that, for which *Dailles* Apology of the *Reformed Churches*, *c.2.p.98.* much contendeth in their behalf: That to adore that which the Adorer believes not to be our Lord, but Bread, or to perform the external signs of Adoration to our Lord as present there, where the worshipper believes he is not, is unlawful to be done by any, so long as the person continues so perswaded: For, *Conscientia erronea obligat.* But then, if we suppose the Church *justly* requiring such Adoration upon such a true Presence of our Lord; neither will the same person be free from sinning greatly in his following such his conscience, and in his not adoring: disobedience to the Churches just commands being no light offence. Neither for the yeilding such obedience in general is it necessary that the Churches Subjects be absolutely certain of the rightness or lawfulness of the Churches Decrees or Commands: For, thus, the more ignorant in spiritual matters and the things commanded that any person is, the more free and released should he be from all obedience; the §. 33.

contrary

contrary of which is true. But sufficient it is even in the stating of judicious protestant Divines, when writing against Puritans, (see *Considerations on the Council of* Trent, §. 295. *n.* 3. 4.) that such persons be not absolutely certain that the Churches commands are unjust, and that they do in something demonstratively contradict God's law: which plain contradiction, if a private person can see it, tis strang the Church should not. And as to this particular matter, after the Churches motives of Adoration, that are delivered before §. 24. *&c.* well considered, I leave the Reader to judge, whether such a pretended certainty can have any solid ground. It is better indeed to forbear an action, when we are not certain of the lawfulness thereof, provided that we are certain, that in such forbearance we do not sin. But thus certain of our not sinning in such forbearance we cannot be, concerning any thing that is enjoyned us by our lawful and Canonical Superiours; whom we are obliged to obey: unless (as hath bin said) we are first certain that such their command is unlawful.

§. 34. And hitherto of this Controversie; where the two main things that seem worthy to be examined, by any Christian, who in this point seeks satisfaction, are 1. Whether the *Roman*-Catholicks *grounds* of believing Christ's *Corporal* Presence in the Eucharist, with the Symbols, *are solid and true.* 2. And next; Whether this Church, *for any ones enjoying her Communion, exacts more* of him, than the *confessing* that Christ as present there *is* also there to be *adored*: whilst mean-while such person renounceth and declares against any adoration, or, if you will, co-adoration of the *species*, or any other thing whatever there present, with any *Latria* or supreme worship, proper or improper, or with any other honour or reverence, save only such an inferiour veneration as is exhibited by us to other Holy Things.

FINIS.

TWO DISCOURSES.

THE FIRST,

Concerning the *SPIRIT* of

MARTIN LUTHER,

and the ORIGINAL of the

REFORMATION.

THE SECOND,

CONCERNING THE

CELIBACY

OF THE

CLERGY.

By Abraham Woodhead

Printed at OXFORD. *An.* 1687.

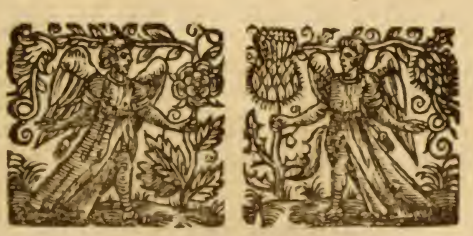
CONSIDERATIONS

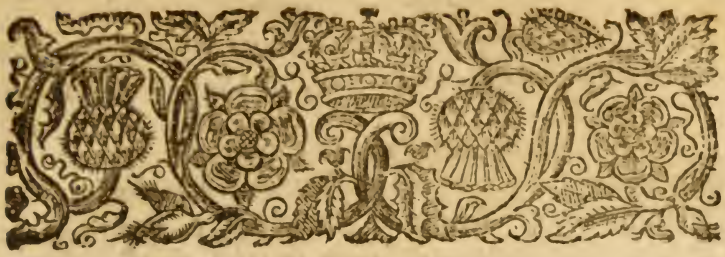
Concerning the SPIRIT of

M. LUTHER,

and the ORIGINAL of the

REFORMATION.





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And vilifying Religious vows and works of Mortification, and Penance, especially Celibacy. §. 10.
Writing against Monastick Vows. §. 11. n. 2.
And much recommending the state of Marriage, vilifying Celibacy. §. 11. n. 3. 4, 5, 6, 7.
Throwing off his Monks Hood, and marrying a Nun. §. 12.
Leaving off his Canonical hours of Prayer. §. 13.

The 3d. deg. His rejecting the authority of the present Church. §. 14.

The 4th. deg. His denying the then present to be a true Church; or the Clergy thereof a true Ministery, affirming the Pope to be Antichrist, &c. §. 15. n. 1. and §. 16, 17, 18.

The

The 5th. deg. *His rejecting the authority also of the former, and ancient Church; Councils, and Fathers.* §. 15. n. 2. *and* §. 19, 20.

Some instances, and testimonies-

1. *Concerning his rejecting the present Church-authority.* §. 16.
2. *Maintaining the Pope to be Antichrist.* §. 17.
3. *The former Ordinations of Clergy invalid.* §. 18.
4. *His rejecting Councils.* §. 19.
5. *And Fathers.* §. 20.

The 6th. deg. *His setting up his own authority, and maintaining his own doctrines, as certain and infallible truths.* §. 21. n. 1. *and* §. 24. n. 1.

(*Tho these in his former, and latter time much varying.* ib.)

The 7th. deg. *Impatiently suffering opposition, excommunicating and anathematizing any others, tho Reformed, that contradicted his doctrines.* §. 22. *and* §. 25.

The 8th. deg. *His altering the publick Service, —ordaining a new Ministry, —Abrogating and burning the former Canon Law.* §. 23.

Instances and Testimonies for these.

1. *Concerning his certainty of the truth of his own doctrines.* §. 24. n. 1.
   Of those also that he maintained against other Reformed. §. 24. n. 3.
2. *Concerning his censuring and condemning those of the other Reformed opposing him.* §. 25.
   Where also of their reciprocal censures of him for it. §. 26.
3. *Concerning the instability of his doctrine.* §. 27.

9th. deg. *His fierce, contentious, and railing spirit discovered in all his controversy-writings.* §. 28.
Some instances thereof. 30.

10th. *His frequent Communications with the Devil, acknowledg'd by himself.* §. 32.
Where
Of the great variety and subtilty of Satan's temptations. §. 34.
When this Tempter is undiscovered. §. 35.
When this Tempter is discovered. §. 37.

And

And that Luther *had no secure ground to rely on, that he was not by him most miserably deluded.* §. 38.

11. *In particular; concerning Satan's famous disputation with him, touching the Mass; Nullity of the present Clergy; Justifying Faith;* &c. *and* Luther's *behaviour therein.* §. 39.

Remarks upon it, and the invalidity of those Arguments of Satan, that prevailed with Luther. §. 40. &c.

Of Zuinglius *his being in like manner deluded by Satan.* §. 44. &c.

12. *That probably* Luther *discovered not these wiles of Satan, but served him ignorantly.* §. 46.

And therefore was a more dangerous instrument of his. §. 47.

And that there wanted not specious pretences for several things in his Reformation. §. 49.

Nor some personal qualities that rendred him acceptable to his sect. §. 50.

13. *The resemblance of* Luther's *change of Religion in several particulars to that former of* Mahomet.

14. *The Trial of* Luther's *spirit (as before described) whether this were good, or bad, by the properties of these two spirits mentioned in the begnning of the Discourse.* §. 58.

Where

1. *That Truth and Holiness, Error and Vice, have a necessary connexion.* §. 60.
2. *That where more corrupt doctrines are believed, and taught; there, for the general, must be found more dissolute lives* §. 61.

The several bad fruits springing from Luther's *doctrine, that presently appeared, and were confessed, in his own time.* §. 62.

15. *The manner of his Death.* §. 64.

Conclusion.

Where concerning the just limits of blaming, or censuring other mens lives and actions.

CONSIDERATIONS

Concerning the SPIRIT of

MARTIN LUTHER,

and the Original of the

REFORMATION.

§. 1. THE Spirit of *God* is described by the Apostle (1 *Cor.* 13.) in its properties to be —*long-suffering, kind, not envying, nor vaunting it self, not puffed up, not easily provoked, thinking no evil, bearing all things*, &c. and the fruits thereof to be —*love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, continency, temperance*, Gal. 5.22. —And the wisdom that is from above to be —*pudica, pacifica, modesta, suadibilis:* "chast, pacific, modest, easie to be intreated. *Jam:* 3. 17. —And the Spiritual man to be —*Non litigans, mansuetus ad omnes, docibilis, patiens, cum modestia corripiens*, &c. 'No wrangler, mild towards all men, docible, patient, correcting with modesty. 2 *Tim.* 2. 24, 25. When *he is reviled, to bless*; when *he is defamed. to intreat*; when *persecuted* [without resistance] *to suffer it.* 1 Cor. 4. 12. —Is described to wage a continual *war* against the *flesh*; in *watchings*, in *fastings*, in various castigations, subjections, and mortifications of the body, 1 *Cor.* 9. 27. 2 *Cor.* 11.27. These are the Properties of the good Spirit. Properties of the good

On the contrary, the Spirit of *Satan*, and of this world, and those acted therewith, are described by the Apostle *Rom.* 1. 29. to be —*Pleni invidia, contentione, malignitate, detractores, contumeliosi, superbi, parentibus* [superioribus] *non obedientes, inventores malorum, incompositi*, ἄστοργοι ἀσπονδοι: —"full of envy, contention, malignity, 'detractors, contumelious, proud, disobedient to parents [*superiours*,] inventers of evil, unsettled, and dissolute, without natural 'affection, without fidelity. —And (2 Tim. 3.1.) to be, *seipsos amantes, elati, superbi, parentibus* [superiorbus] *non obedientes, sine pace, incontinentes, tumidi, voluptatum amatores, pietatis speciem habentes, virtutem ejus abnegantes*: "lovers of themselves, haughty, proud, And evil Spirit.

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'disobedient to parents [*superiours*,] unpeaceable, incontinent, 'puffed up, lovers of pleasures, having an appearance of piety, but 'denying the virtue of it. And by St. *Jude*, v. 8. &c. to be *carnem maculantes, dominationem spernentes, Majestatem blasphemantes, in via* Cain *abeuntes:* "Defilers of the flesh, despisers of Dominion, blas-'phemers of Majesty, who have gone in the way of *Cain.* [*departing out of the Church.*] (Gen. 4. 19.) And —*Errore* Balaam *effusi:* "have poured out themselves in the error of *Balaam*; [*cursing the Church and people of God*: Num. c. 22.] And, *in contradictione* Core *abeuntes*; "perished in the contradiction of *Corah:* [*opposing* Moses *the Law-giver*, *and* Aaron *the High-Priest*, Num. c. 16.] And much-what the same by St. *Peter*, (2 Ep. 2. 10. *&c.*) to be —*Dominationem contemnentes, audaces, sibi placentes, Sectas non metuentes introducere, blasphemantes*, or, *Majestates non metuentes blasphemare*: 'Contemners of Dominion, bold, self-pleasers, not fearing to intro-'duce Sects, blasphemers, or, not fearing to blaspheme Majesties. I recite so many places, to shew the unanimous consent of the Holy Scriptures, and writers, in describing the qualities of this evil Spirit, reduced principally to these two. 1. Fleshly Lusts. 2. Contention and disobedience. These are the properties of the evil Spirit, by which the Spirit of new Teachers is to be tryed.

Now so often as the Teachers of new and strange Doctrines come into the world, professing opposition to those received from our present Superiours, and to the common tenents of the Church, Christians are directed by St. *John* c. 4. v. 1. *to try such Spirits whether they be of God.* —And are instructed, by our Lord, *Mat.* 7. 16. *that they shall know and discern them by their fruits*; and then, by the Apostles (as you have seen) what in particular these *fruits* are.

Dr. *Luther* then being one of these, and the last that hath appeared (when the Church of God was at peace, and unanimous in her doctrine and discipline) to have broached new ones, and departed out of this fold, and become the Founder of another Model of Religion; it seems reasonable, and of much concernment, that all *Christians*, so soon as any is acquainted herewith, do put themselves in the same posture now, as they should have bin in, had they lived at the first appearance of *Luther*, when all remain'd in the bosom, communion, and faith of that Church which he opposed; and first try his new Spirit by the marks or fruits here premised, before they any longer follow it; or stray from the fold of this Church, to hearken to the voice of that Stranger. Which trial the more to facilitate to them, it seemeth to me no uncharitable act, having heretofore for my own satisfaction made some search

into

into this man's writings, opinions, and actions, to present them with a brief relation of such passages of his Life, and branches of his Doctrine, drawn chiefly from his own Testimony, or those of his Friends, and fellow-Reformists, (*i.e.* the persons most favourable to his good reputation) as I esteem to serve best to this purpose. I pray God it may any way serve for advancing his glory, and his truth, for which it is intended. *Amen.*

§. 2. *Luther's holy life while a Monk.*

This man then, after having taken his degree of Master of Arts at *Erford*, an University in *Germany*, being much terrified by the sudden death of an intimate friend and companion, slain (some say) by a thunderbolt, put himself into a Monastery of the *Augustine* Fryers there, against his Parents consent; and after his Probationer-ship ended, took the three Vows of Religion, *Poverty*, *Celibacy*, and *Obedience*, about the 22*th.* year of his age. [See *Melancthon, in præfat. 2. tom. op. Luther.* —*Luther. de votis Monastic. præfat. ad Patrem.* where he saith, *Se terrore & agone mortis subitæ circumvallatum, vovisse* &c. "That being surrounded with the terror and agony of a sudden death, he had vowed *&c.*] Here for some time he lived in his profession a very strict, chast, and sober life, and most obedient to his Superiours. Himself several times professeth so much of it: —*Vixi Monachus* (saith he, *De votis Monasticis,*) *non sine peccato quidem, sed sine crimine*: "I liv'd whilst a "Monk, tho not sinless, yet without grievous crime. And on *Gal.* 1. 14. (in imitation of the great Apostle,) ——*Si quisquam alius certe ego, ante lucem Evangelii, pie sensi, & zelavi pro Papisticis legibus, & Patrum traditionibus* (saith he.) —*Qua potui diligentia conatus sum eas præstare: plus inedia, vigiliis, orationibus, & aliis exercitiis corpus macerans, quam omnes illi qui hodie tam acerbe oderunt, & persequantur me*, &c. "Before the light of the [*new*] Gospel, if ever any, certainly I, had pious sentiments, and was zealous of 'the Papistical laws, and traditions of my Fathers. –I endeavour-'ed to keep them as diligently as I could; macerating my body 'with fastings, watchings, prayers, and other [*spiritual*] exercises, 'more than they all, who at this day so bitterly hate and persecute 'me, because I now detract from those [*good works*] the glory of 'justifying. For in the observation of them I was so over-diligent, and superstitious; that I laid a greater burden on the body, 'than without endangering its health it could well bear. I reve-'renc'd the Pope out of pure conscience, not for the sake of preferments. —Again, *ibid.* on vers. 15. *Ego in Monachatu externe non eram sicut cæteri homines, raptores, injusti, adulteri; sed servabam castitatem,*

ſtitatem, obedientiam, paupertatem; denique liber a curis præſentis vitæ totus eram deditus jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus, legendis Miſſis, &c. 'Whilſt a Monk, I was not outwardly, as other men, extortioners, 'unjuſt, adulterers; but I obſerved chaſtity, obedience, and pover-'ty: and laſtly, diſ-engag'd from the cares of this preſent life, I 'wholly gave my ſelf up to faſtings, watchings, prayers, ſaying Maſs, *&c.* And —*Tanta erat autoritas Papæ apud me, ut vel in minimo diſſentire ab Ipſo putarem crimen æterna damnatione dignum.* 'So 'great with me was the authority of the Pope, that in the leaſt to 'diſſent from him I judg'd a crime worthy of eternal damnation. And thus *Melanchon* of him, (*Præfat. in 2. tom. Luther.*) *Receptus* [in Monaſterium] *jam non ſolum acerrimo ſtudio doctrinam Eccleſiæ diſcit, ſed etiam ſumma diſciplinæ ſeveritate ſe ipſe regit, & omnibus exercitiis lectionum, diſputationum, jejuniorum, precum, omnes longe ſuperat. Vidi continuis quatuor diebus, cum quidem recte valeret, prorſus nihil edentem, aut bibentem.* 'Being admitted [*into the Monaſtery*] he not 'only learns by very hard ſtudy the doctrines of the Church, but 'practiſes her diſcipline alſo with the utmoſt rigor and ſeverity; in 'all exerciſes of lectures, diſputations, faſts, prayers, *&c.* ſurpaſſing 'all others. I have known him, when in perfect health, neither eat 'nor drink for four days together. [*For there was alſo a Monaſtery of* Auguſtine *Fryers at* Wirtenberg, *wherein* Luther *lived for many years, after he was removed from* Erford *to that new-founded Univerſity for his pregnant parts and learning.*] Neither did *Luther* leave off his Monks hood till 1524. ſixteen years after his coming thither; after which the means of this Monaſtery was given to the Elector, and he became a private Houſe-keeper; and the next year after, a married man. (See *Melch. Adams vita Luther. p.*128.131.) —And it appears by what is objected to him by the Devil, in his book *de Miſſa angulari*, or *privata, & unctione Sacerdotum*, that for fifteen years after his entry into the Prieſthood, (which was in 1507. a year before his remove to *Wirtenberg*,) he ceaſed not almoſt daily ſaying Maſs; againſt the idolatry of which he afterward ſo much enveighed. —*Audiſne Excellentiſſime Doctor*, (ſaith Satan here,) *num ignoras, te quaſi per annos quindecim privatas Miſſas quotidie fere celebraſſe?* "Hear you this, moſt excellent Do-'ctor? Don't you know, there was ſcarce for fifteen years together 'a day, in which you miſs'd ſaying private Maſs?

§.3.n.1. The ſeveral degrees of his Fall.

Luther having begun thus in the works of the Spirit, if ſhutting out the cares of this life, chaſtity, temperance, faſting, and moſt ſtrict obedience to his Superiours, (which uſually is joyn'd with great

great humility, and low esteem of our selves) may be called so; now see how by gentle degrees he fell from them, and finished his course in the liberties of the flesh. Which thing came to pass in this manner. *Melanchon* relates of him, (*Præfat. in 2. tom. Luth.*) —*Sæpe eum cogitantem intentius de ira Dei & mirandis pœnarum exemplis, subito tantos terrores concussisse, ut pene exanimaretur.* ' That ' oft-times, whilst meditating intently on God's wrath and won- ' derful examples of judgments against sinners, on a suddain such ' terrors struck him, that he was left almost dead. And in this desolation (saith he) *Senis cujusdam sermonibus in Augustiniano Collegio* Erphordiæ *sæpe se confirmatum narrabat*; *cui cum consternationes suas exponeret, audivit eum de fide multa differentem*; *seseque deductum aiebat ad Symbolum, in quo dicitur,* Credo remissionem peccatorum. *Hunc Articulum* &c. " He us'd to tell, how he had been confirm'd by ' the words of an old Fryer of the Monastery at *Erford*; whom up- ' on his relating to him his consternations, he often heard discours- ' ing many things about Faith, and was at length brought by him ' to that article of the Creed, in which it is said, *I believe the for-* ' *giveness of sins.* This Article the old man expounded thus: That ' it was not enough to believe only in general (as the Devils also ' do) the remission of sins to others; but that God commands every ' one to believe his own sins remitted to him in particular. [*True, we performing some conditions besides only believing this; but these are not spoken of.*]

The 1. degree of his fall, his taking upa new Doctrine, whilst yet a Monk, as more consolatory, of *Justification by Faith alone.*

Thus the old man taught him; and this, as himself saith (*de Missa privata,*) the Devil also urged to him, and he believed him. *Primum nosti; nullam tunc* [*i.e.* when a Monk, and a Roman Catholick] *habuisti cognitionem Christi, nec veram fidem; & quod ad fidem attinet, nihilo melior fuisti quovis* Turca, *&c.* ' First you know, ' you had then [i.e. *when a Monk and a Roman Catholick*] no know- ' ledge of Christ, nor true faith; in point of which you were no ' better than any *Turk.* For the *Turks*, and even the Devils them- ' selves believe the history of Christ's Nativity, Passion, *&c.* but ' *Turks* and we damned Spirits do not trust in God's mercy, [i.e. *towards our selves.*] And in the same manner teacheth he himself, (in *Peter* 1. 2.) *Cognitio Dei vera ea est, quod sentias Deum & Christum, tuum esse Deum, tuum Christum; id quod Diabolus, & falsi Christiani non possunt credere.* —*Hujusmodi fiduciam nequeunt habere malæ conscientiæ, i.e.* [saith he, expounding *malæ conscientiæ*] *sincera fide vacantes.* " The true knowledge of God is this; That you believe ' God and Christ to be *your* God, and *your* Christ: which thing the ' Devil and false Christians cannot do: —Such a firm confidence

as

'as this guilty conſciences cannot have: *guilty* conſciences, *i. e.* '[*ſaith he, expounding himſelf*] void of true faith. Accordingly he ſaith in his 11*th.* Article, aſſerted by him againſt the condemnation of Pope *Leo.* —*Crede fortiter te abſolutum, & abſolutus vere eris, quicquid ſit de contritione*: "Do but ſtoutly believe that you are 'abſolv'd, and abſolv'd you will be, whether you have contrition or no. Where if he ſay, that none not-contrite can poſſibly *credere ſe abſolutum*; whence gathers he this? For in other things we often believe, or are ſtrongly perſwaded of, things not true. Again, if he hold every one ſo believing to be neceſſarily contrite; why ſaith he *quicquid ſit*, "whether contrite or no, and not rather *quoniam ſic conſtat de contritione?* "from your contrition it muſt be ſo. Again, in his 15*th.* Article: —*Magnus error* (ſaith he) *eſt eorum, qui ad Sacramentum Eucharistiæ accedunt; huic innixi, quod ſint confeſſi; quod non ſint ſibi conſcii alicujus peccati mortalis: quod præmiſerint orationes ſuas, & præparatoria; omnes illi judicium ſibi manducant, & bibunt.* &c. "They erre greatly, who come to the Sacrament of the 'Eucharist, relying on this; that they have confeſs'd to a Prieſt; 'that they are conſcious to themſelves of no mortal ſin; that they 'have ſaid their prayers, and done other preparatories thereto: All 'ſuch eat and drink damnation to themſelves. But if they did but 'believe, and were confident, that they ſhould obtain grace there, 'this faith alone were ſufficient to render them clean, and worthy. Again, Article the *6th.* —*Contritio quæ paratur per diſcuſſionem, collectionem, & deteſtationem peccati, quæ quis recogitat annos præteritos vitæ ſuæ*, &c. "The contrition that is got by examining, recollect-'ing, and deteſting ones ſins; whereby a man calls to mind his 'whole life paſt, in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, pondering on the 'hainouſneſs, the multitude, and the filth of his ſins, the loſs of 'eternal bliſs, and condemnation to everlaſting woe: this contri-'tion, I ſay, makes a man a hypocrite, nay even a greater ſinner 'than he was before. Of which being queſtioned, he expounds himſelf; —*Se loqui de contritione naturali, & impia, extra fidem*: "that he ſpeaks of a contrition natural, and impious, without faith. But why ſo freely then condemneth he ſuch a contrition as he deſcribes with *facit hypocritam* &c. as if theſe are not, or cannot be conſiſtent with faith? unleſs he means with his faith, believing our ſins are forgiven, for this cauſe only on our part, becauſe we believe they are ſo. So in *Captiv. Babyl. cap. de Baptiſmo*, he ſaith, —*Quam dives eſt homo Chriſtianus, vel baptizatus, qui etiam volens non poteſt perdere ſalutem ſuam quantiſcunque peccatis, niſi nolit credere?* O the riches of the grace of a Chriſtian, or one bap-

ti'd

'tiz'd; who cannot, if he would, loose his salvation, tho by never 'so great sins; unless he obstinately refuse to believe. [*As if this (his sort of faith) were the only condition required of us to be made partakers of the application of Christ's merits to us; a compendious and easy way of salvation.*]

So he disparaged, and vilified all his former acts of piety and devotion when a Monk, as increasing his sin, on this manner. (*Comment. on Gal. c. 1. v. 15.*) —*Ego in Monachatu Christum quotidie crucifixi, & falsa mea fiducia, quæ tam perpetuo adhærebat mihi, blasphemavi. —Servabam castitatem, obedientiam, & paupertatem; denique liber a curis præsentis vitæ totus eram deditus jejuniis*, &c. §. 3. n. 2.

'Whilst a Monk, I daily crucified and blasphemed Christ by my 'false confidence, which so perpetually adher'd to me. —I ob'serv'd Chastity, Obedience, and Poverty: finally, being free from 'the cares of this world I gave my self wholly to fastings, watch'ings, prayers, saying Mass, *&c.* —Mean-while, under this sancti'ty and confidence in my own righteousness, there lurkt in me a 'perpetnal diffidence, [viz. *then destitute of his own new-minted faith*, crede fortiter te absolutum, & vere eris absolutus; *Stoutly be'lieve that you are absolved, and absolv'd you shall be*,] 'doubting, 'dread, hatred, and blasphemy towards God. And that righte'ousness of mine was no other than a meer stinking jakes, and 'most delightsom kingdom of the Devil. For Satan loves dearly 'such kind of Saints, as destroy themselves body and soul; and de'fraud and deprive themselves of all the blessings and good things 'of God. Mean-while in such there reigns their own impiety, 'blindness, doubting, contempt of God, ignorance of the Gospel, *&c.* And—*Quo sanctiores fuimus, hoc magis excæcati eramus, & purius Diabolum adorabamus. Nemo nostrum non erat vir sanguinis, si non opere, tamen corde.* 'The more holy we were, the greater our 'blindness, and the more entirely did we worship the Devil. Not 'one of us but was a man of blood, in Thought at least, tho not in Deed. Here not to meddle out of what intention himself did perform, and live in, such pious practices, which, it seems, was as expecting, Justification, or Salvation from the perfect righteousness of these his works, abstracting from God's mercy, (for Christ's merits and perfect righteousness) forgiving sins; yet, why presumes he to condemn any other Religious at all, as if they did their good works on this account? For who can we imagin amongst them, since it was the common doctrine of the Church then as now (excepting himself) that did not hold their liability to commit sin still, as long as they lived; and who believed not remission

miſſion of theſe their ſins, as well thoſe after Regeneration, as thoſe before, through and for the Merits of Chriſt, and his perfect righteouſnes and ſufferings, or that held all their own good works pure and void of all imperfection, or venial ſin?

§. 4. And deviſes new Comments on the Epiſtle to the Romans and Galatians, prejudicial to good works, proceeding from Grace.

Hence miſ-interpreting the 7*th*. chapter to the R*omans*, he went on to diſparage the goodnes of man's works proceeding from ſanctifying Grace, which is infuſed by God into the Regenerate, for Chriſt's Merits; maintaining, in the 32 Article aſſerted by him, that —*Opus bonum optime factum eſt veniale peccatum ſecundum miſericordiam Dei, ſed mortale peccatum ſecundum judicium Dei.* "That a good work, never ſo well done, is a venial ſin in reſpect 'of God's mercy; but a mortal one in reſpect of his juſtice. And that —*Nemo eſt certus ſe non ſemper peccare mortaliter, propter occultiſſimum ſuperbiæ vitium*: "No man is certain, that he does not ſin always mortally; by reaſon of that hidden pride lurking in every one. Therefore alſo he expounds that text, 1 *Pet.* 1. 17. [*Qui judicat ſecundum uniuſcujuſque opus* "who judges according to every ones work,] and other the like texts on this manner: *i.e.* ſaith he, *ex operibus te Deus judicabit, & evincet, ſi credideris*: "By thy works 'God will judge, and manifeſt thy faith, if thou believeſt. Much alſo he ſpoke of the captivity of man's Will, and its ſervitude, as unable to do any good; and of *liberum arbitrium*, 'Free-will, that it is *figmentum in rebus*, and *titulus ſine re*; "a meer fiction, and empty name; of which he ſpeaks thus. (*Aſſertio Artic.* 36.) —*In cæteris Articulis, de* Papatu, *de* Conciliis, Indulgentiis, *aliis non neceſſariis, magis ferenda eſt levitas & ſtultitia Papæ, & ſuorum*, &c. "In the 'reſt of the Articles about the Papacy, Councils, Indulgencies, and 'other unneceſſary matters, the levity and folly of the Pope and his 'followers is ſomewhat more tolerable: but in this the very chief-'eſt and beſt article, and indeed the ſumme and ſubſtance of our 'religion, their miſerable error and madneſs is to be lamented and bewailed. And he is ſaid to have preferred his book *de ſervo arbitrio*, before any other part of his works, (*Melch. Adams vitæ Luth. p.* 170.) which thing I ſuppoſe was done by him, the ſtronglier to ſupport his new doctrine of *imputative Juſtification* ſolely by Chriſts righteouſnes: but which ſeems to have a very malignant influence upon men, inducing the neglect of their endeavour to obſerve the divine commands; unles at the ſame time man's ability to do good by God's grace be maintain'd as great, as it is, in our own corrupted will, ſmall, or none; but *Luther* here made no ſuch recompence. And in this new doctrine of his, he ſaith, (*Comment. on Gala.*

Gal. 1. 11, 12.) he was much encouraged, and confirmed by the commendations which he then received from one Dr. *Staupitius*, one of the ſame Order; who ſaid, It pleaſed him much, that the doctrine, which he preached, yeilded glory, and all things elſe unto God alone, and nothing unto man. This *Staupitius*, a great man amongſt the *Auguſtine* Fryers, was at firſt a great encourager of *Luther* in his diſputations concerning Indulgences, but afterwards withdrew himſelf from him, exhorting him to humility, and obedience to the Pope. To whom *Luther* afterwards in an Epiſtle to him, (ſee *Adams vit. Staupitii, p.* 19.) *–Quantum tu me ad humilitatem exhortaris, tantum ego te ad ſuperbiam exhortor: tibi adeſt nimia humilitas, ſicut mihi nimia ſuperbia. Et reprehendit* (ſaith *Adams*) *quod judicio Papæ ſe ſubmiſiſſet.* "I exhort you as much to Pride, 'as you me to Humility. You are as much too humble, as I too 'proud. And he reprehends him for ſubmitting to the judgment of 'the Pope.

Upon this, this man began to make new Comments on St. *Paul's* Epiſtles to the *Romans* and *Gal.* to extoll his new fiduciary faith, depreſs good works in the manner you have heard; and this nine or ten years before the Controverſy about Indulgencies began; his doctrine herein (as new things uſually do, eſpecially thoſe that tend to liberty) taking many; and applauſe making him ſtill to ſeek after the diſcovery of more faults in the Churche's former doctrines. At this time (ſaith his Scholler *Melanchon*, *Præfat. in* 2. *tom. Luther.* who alſo was tranſlated to the new-founded Univerſity of *Wirtenberg*, ſome years after *Luther*, for his famed learning in the Greek tongue,) *Eruditis gratum erat, quaſi ex tenebris educi Chriſtum, Prophetas, Apoſtolos; conſpici diſcrimen legis, & Evangelii; promiſſionum legis, & promiſſionis Evangelicæ; quod certe non exſtabat in* Thoma, Scoto, *& ſimilibus.* "The Learned were 'well-pleaſed to ſee the doctrine of Chriſt, the Prophets, and A-'poſtles, as it were brought to light; and the difference betwixt the 'Law and Goſpel, the Legal promiſes and the Evangelical one 'now cleared to 'em; which in the writings of the Schools, *Tho-'mas, Scotus*, &c. were not at all, or but obſcurely, to be met with. Concerning which error in Juſtification (the chief matter ſurely in all our Chriſtianity) he there alſo ſaith; That—*Origenica ætas effudit hanc perſuaſionem, mediocrem rationis diſciplinam mereri remiſſionem peccatorum, & eſſe juſtitiam, de qua diceretur*, Juſtus ex fide ſua vivet. *Hæc ætas pene amiſit totum diſcrimen Legis, & Evangelii; & ſermonem Apoſtolicum dedidicit.* 'In *Origen's* time firſt aroſe that

§. 5. n. 1

'perſwaſion, That a little diſciplining of reaſon was ſufficient e-
'nough to merit remiſſion of ſins; and was that Righteouſneſs,
'whereof it is ſaid, *The Juſt ſhall live by faith.* We of this age have
'well-nigh loſt all diſtinction of law and goſpell, and unlearnt the
'doctrine of the Apoſtle. [*O ridiculous pride, and ſelf-conceit!*]

§.5.n.2. Hence *Luther* alſo proceeded to ſuch bold ſpeeches both concerning the Fathers, and alſo in comparing the writings of the New Teſtament in order to his doctrine of ſole *Juſtification by Faith*, of which in his Preface to his *Enarrations* on 1 *Pet.* he ſaith, —*Qui hoc potiſſimum & majori præ cæteris ſtudio tractarunt, quod* ſola in Chriſtum fides juſtificet, *ii omnium optimi ſunt Evangeliſtæ.* &c. 'Thoſe,
'that more particularly and diligently than the reſt treat of this
'doctrine, *That Faith alone juſtifies*, they are the beſt Evangeliſts of
'all. Hence may you more properly ſay, *The Goſpel of St. Paul*,
'than of *Mathew*, *Mark*, *Luke*; theſe latter being little more than a
'bare Hiſtorical narration of the works and miracles of Chriſt.
[*What and not of his Doctrines, and Sermons alſo, and of the way to ſalvation he taught us?*] And afterwards, cenſuring the Fathers, on *c.* 1. *v.* 8. *Benedictus Deus* &c. *O Deus* (ſaith he) *quam parum de hac prædicatione* [*viz.* Omnia nobis dona a Patre donata ex mera miſericordia citra noſtrum meritum] *in omnibus libris invenitur, etiam iis, qui optimi habentur?* &c. "O God! How little of this doctrine
'[viz. *All our gifts beſtow'd on us by the Father, out of his meer mercy*
'*without our merit*] is there to be found in all even reputedly the
'beſt books? In all the writings of St. *Hierome*, and St. *Auguſtine*,
'how is there nothing at all, not ſo much as the words? [*i.e. his*
'*ſenſe of the words of St.* Peter *a ſufficient* autocatacriſy.] We ought
'thus to preach Jeſus Chriſt, *viz.* That he dyed, and roſe again;
'and *why* he dyed, and *why* he roſe again; that men mov'd by
'ſuch preaching may believe in him, and believing be ſav'd. [*Here*
'*muſt be interpoſed his* ſolum, *elſe what more frequent in St.* Auſtine,
'*and St.* Hierome?] This is indeed preaching the true Goſpel;
'and whatſoever by whomſoever is preach'd otherwiſe, goſpel it
is not. And a little below: *Inde facile diſcitur, Epiſtolam Divi* Jacobi *nomine inſcriptam, haud quaquam Apoſtolicam eſſe Epiſtolam* &c.
'Thence may we eaſily learn that to be no Canonical Epiſtle that
'is aſcrib'd to St. *James*; [*this makes ſufficient way for his* Straminea
'& arida, *worthleſs, and dry as a ſtraw*,] there being ſcarcely the
'leaſt tittle of this doctrine in it. [*But then, how much do we read there contrary?*]

Yea,

Yea, so strangely affected was *Luther* himself also with this his new Invention, That abstracting from this device, he (most impiously) makes bold, much to prefer the *Mahometan* and Turks religion, as to good life and practice, before the Christian. It is necessary I set you down his words, that what I say here may be believed. Thus then he in an Epistle before a Treatise *De Moribus & Religione Turcarum*, joyned with the *Alcoran*, and some other Treatises against the *Alcoran*, published by him, as he saith, on purpose; because those, who had writ against the *Alcoran*, concealed the good things of the *Mahometan* Religion, but mentioned and confuted the odious; but that Author had declared it with much integrity. Now—*Ex hoc libro* (saith he) *videmus* Turcarum *seu* Mahometi *religionem ceremoniis, pene dixerim & moribus, esse multo speciosiorem, quam nostrorum etiam Religiosorum & omnium Clericorum. Nam ea modestia & simplicitas victus, vestitus*, &c. 'By this book 'we see the Religion of the Turks or *Mahomet* is much more plau-'sible for shew and ceremony, I had almost said, and for good life 'too, [*this word stuck a little with his modesty at first,*] than that even 'of our Religious, nay all the Clergy put together. For no where 'amongst us are to be seen that modesty and simplicity of diet, 'aparrel, houses, all things; or the like fasts, prayers, publick 'conventions of the people, as this book recounts. Then the mi-'racles, and the prodigious abstinencies and severities of their Reli-'gious, whom of our Monks do they not quite put down and 'shame? And this is the reason why from the Christian faith so 'many revolt, and so pertinaciously adhere to Mahometanisme. Again, —*Christiana religio longe aliud & sublimius aliquid est, quam Ceremoniæ speciosæ, rasura, Cucullus, pallor vultus, jejunia, horæ Canonicæ, & universa illa facies Ecclesiæ* Romanæ *per orbem.* &c. 'Chri-'stian Religion is quite another and far more sublime thing, than a 'few specious ceremonies, shaven crowns, cowls, pale countenan-'ces, fastings, Canonical hours of prayer, and all that outward 'pomp of the *Roman* Church all the world over: for in all these 'the Turks infinitely go beyond us. [*Will he stay here? No.*] *Christiana religio longe aliud est quam boni mores, seu bona opera. Nam in his quoq; ostendit is liber Turcas longe superiores esse Christianis no-'stris.* Christianity is quite another thing than a good life, [*now 'without a* pæne dixerim, *I had almost said*] or good works; for even 'in these also, as this book shews, the Turks far out-do us Christians. And —*Nunc video quid causæ fuerit, quod a Papistis sic occuleretur religio Turcica; cur solum turpia eorum narrarunt, sc. Quod senserunt id quod res est; si ad disputandum de religione veniatur, totus Pa-*

§.5.n.3.

papatus cum omnibus suis caderet, &c. "Now I see the reason of the 'Papists concealing many things of the Turkish Religion, and re-'lating only the deformities thereof, *viz.* because they were sensi-'ble (which is the plain truth of the buisiness) that should Religion 'once come to be disputed, the whole Papacy with its adherents, 'unable any longer either to defend their own religion, or to con-'fute the *Mahometan*, must needs fall to the ground; since they 'would be oblig'd to confute those things, themselves most of all 'allow of, [*i. e. good life, good works, fastings, ceremonies*, &c. *named before.*] Yet worse: *Discant* (saith he) *religionem Christi aliud esse quam ceremonias & mores: atque* fidem Christi *prorsus nihil discernere, utrae ceremoniae, mores, & leges, sint meliores, aut deteriores: sed discant, omnes in unam massam contusas ad justitiam nec esse satis, nec eis esse opus.* 'Let them know (saith he) that Christianity is some-'thing else than ceremonies and good living; and that the faith of 'Christ says not one word, whether their ceremonies, customs, and 'laws, or ours, be better or worse of the two: but let them know 'this, that all these pounded in one heap together would neither 'be sufficient nor needful to justification. And again: —*Si quis hos articulos teneat* (*scil. Quod Christus sit filius Dei, mortuus pro nostris peccatis, resuscitatus ad vitam nostram*; *Quod fide in Illum justi, & peccatis remissis salvi sumus*, &c.) —*Quid illi noceat*, &c. If one does but 'believe these Articles, (*viz.* That Christ is the Son of God, who 'died for our sins, and rose again for our justification; That being 'justified by faith in him, we obtain remission of our sins and salva-'tion thereby) what the worse is he, tho he neither fast, pray, watch, 'nor use abstinence so much? tho he be not altogether so modest 'in his diet, aparrel, carriage, house-keeping, *&c.* Let both Turks 'and Papists excel in these things if they please; yet at the same 'time void of true [*i.e. his*] faith. *&c.* Thus, if we may believe this new Doctor, and unless we will take his new fiduciary faith for the substance of Christian Religion, *Mahomet* (notwithstanding all the assistances of Grace and the holy Spirit acting in the Church, and so dearly purchased for it by our Lord,) hath out-done Christ, and the *Alcoran* the holy Scriptures; as to the pro-ducing and establishing of Sanctification and good Works, as to mortifying the flesh and worldly lusts, as to the devout service of God, praying, watching, fasting, *&c.* And our Lord, who gave himself for us, that *he might purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works*: Titus 2.14. and *who gave himself for his spouse the Church, that he might sanctifie, cleanse, and purify it unto himself, not having spot or wrinkle* &c. Eph. 5.26,27. is in this his chief end

much

much out-gone by other Religions; and their working upon the bare ſtock of Nature, Nature depraved, without Regeneration, without God's Spirit or Grace. *At tibi imperet Dominus:* the Lord rebuke thee. If Chriſtian Religion be not the holieſt Religion, it is not God's. As for the Relation he urgeth, it gives no ſuch character of the *Mahometan* Religion as he pretends; ſecondly, did it, it muſt deliver a lye; nor ought any Chriſtian to give more credit to it than to *Mahometaniſme.*

And thus I have diſcovered unto you the main root of the firſt Reformation by *Luther.* Wherein firſt, he hath ſhamefully miſtaken, or miſ-reported, the common doctrine of the Church in all ages, (as indeed the reformed Religion chiefly ſubſiſts by miſ-relating or miſ-conſtruing the Catholick tenents; and the greateſt miſchief the Devil doth in the world, is by his lying:) He hath ſhamefully miſ-reported the Churches doctrine, I ſay; which doctrine holds our Juſtification to conſiſt, not only in infuſed Grace, or inherent Righteouſneſs through Chriſt's merits, (tho it is moſt true, that the Regenerate are formally made *juſt*, *holy*, and *righteous*, of formerly ſinners, and impious, by Grace infuſed into them by God for Chriſt's merits ſake,) but alſo in remiſſion of ſin through Chriſt's merits; and in remiſſion of ſins, not only before our Regeneration, but after it alſo; in which ſtate alſo, they acknowledge, that *in multis offendimus omnes*, "in many things we offend all. [See *Conc. Trent. ſeſſ. 6. c. 7.) Juſtificatio non eſt ſola peccatorum remiſſio, ſed & renovatio interioris hominis per ſuſceptionem gratiæ*, &c. "Juſtification is not only remiſſion of ſins, but alſo re-'newal of the inward man by ſuſception of grace; *therefore not* re-'newal alone, but alſo remiſſion of ſins. —And *Bell. de Juſtif.* 2. *l.* 6. *c.* —*Utraque pars Juſtificationis*; *id eſt, remiſſio peccatorum, & donum renovationis*: "Both parts of Juſtification; *i. e.* remiſſion of 'ſins, and the gift or grace of renovation of the inward man. And ſee *Caſſand. conſult.* on *Art.* 4.] This is the faith and profeſſion of the Monks, that watch, faſt, and pray; ancient, and modern; (*Luther* excepted.)

§. 6. Where 1. That the Churches doctrine concerning Juſtification was miſtaken, or miſ-related.

He hath broach'd a doctrine deteſted by the moſt learned of the modern Reformed. [See what Dr. *Hammond, of Fundamentals, c.* 12, 13. Mr. *Thorndike, Epilog.* 2. *l.* 7. *c. p.* 41. *Juſt Weights, c.* 9. *p.* 57. 95., and others have written againſt the *Solifidian*, and Fiduciary, as moſt pernicious, errors.] Nay I may ſay, at leaſt the conſequence thereof, even deteſted by *Luther* himſelf in his later time. For thus he—*In viſitatione Saxonica*, —*Multi, dum audiunt* [from the

§. 7. 2. That his new opinion concerning it, is deteſted by many judicious Proteſtants.

the Evangelical Teachers] ; *ut ſolummodo credatur, omnia ipſis remitti peccata, fingunt ſibi fidem* ; &c. 'Many being taught, that they need 'only believe that their ſins are remitted , deviſe a new faith to 'themſelves ; and fancying themſelves clean become temerarious, 'and ſelf-ſecure thereby. Which carnal ſecurity is worſe than all 'the errors that were ever heard of to this day. Elſewhere in a Sermon *ſuper Evang. Dominicæ* 1ª *Adventus.* he obſerves his reformed, *magis vindictæ cupidos, magis avaros, magis ab omni miſericordia remotos, magis immodeſtos, & indiſciplinatos, multoque deteriores, quam fuerint in Papatu* ; 'to be more revengeful, covetous, cru-'el ; more immodeſt, unruly, and much worſe than under Popery. And in his Preface to the *Gal.* he mentions a new Sect, [*quam minime omnium* (ſaith he) *prævidiſſem, aut ſperaſſem,*] i.e. 'which of all 'things he ſhould leaſt have fore-thought or lookt for] of ſuch as taught ; That the ten Commandements ought to be taken out of the Church. Thus as he ſaw the bad weeds, that grew up out of his doctrine, he endeavoured, but in vain, to tread down, and ſtifle them : and the bad influence which this new tenent ſpeedily had on many of *Luther's* Diſciples was obſerved by many others. Thus *Eraſmus* complains in an Epiſtle to *P. Melancthon* 1524. —*Ut largiamur eſſe vera quæ docet* Lutherus, —*quid inutilius ad Chriſtianam pietatem quam hæc audire vulgus indoctum, hæc inſtillari auribus adoleſcentum?* Pontificem eſſe Anti-Chriſtum ; Epiſcopos, & Sacerdotes eſſe larvas ; Conſtitutiones hominum eſſe hæreticas ; Confeſſionem eſſe peſtiferam ; opera, merita, conatus, *eſſe voces hæreticas* ; nullum eſſe liberum arbitrium, *ſed omnia neceſſitate geri* ; nihil referre, qualia ſunt hominis opera. *Hæc a nonnullis nuda circumferuntur, & ab improbis in peſſimam partem rapiuntur.* &c. "Sup-'poſing *Luther's* doctrines true ; yet what can be leſs tending to 'promote Chriſtian piety, than to have it taught the vulgar, and 'inſtill'd into the ears of young men ; That the Pope is Antichriſt , 'Prieſts Hobgoblins, Humane conſtitutions heretical, Confeſſion 'pernicious, *works, merits, endeavours,* heretical words ; That there 'is no free-will, but all things govern'd by fatal neceſſity ; no mat-'ter, whether a man's works be good or bad? Theſe things with-'out any welt or guard thus plainly taught, by the ſimple are gree-'dily catch'd at, and interpreted even in the worſt ſenſe by the 'bad. I know you will ſay the follies of ſome , whom you de-'ſervedly call monſters, and the worſt of villains, are not to be im-'puted to *Luther.* Yet theſe very monſters are cheriſhed by thoſe 'whom *Luther* himſelf owns for the champions of the Evangelical 'doctrine. The firſt preaching of our Saviour's Goſpel produced

'a new ſort of men to the world: what ſort of men this new-Goſ-
'pel has brought forth, I liſt not to tell you. Perhaps with you they
'are otherwiſe, but here I aſſure you, they are ſuch, as were I to
'make a bargain, I had rather deal with any Papiſt than them.
'Laſtly, ſome, I have formerly known excellent men, and even by
'nature very virtuouſly inclin'd, I now ſee grown much worſe.
–And *ad Vulturium Neocomum: –Profer mihi, quem iſtud Evangelium ex commeſſatore ſobrium, ex feroci manſuetum, ex rapaci liberalem*, &c.
'Bring me one, who by this new Goſpel is become from a drunkard
ſober, from fierce mild, from covetous liberal, of a reviler well-
'ſpeaking, of ſhameleſs modeſt: and I will ſhew you a great
'number made thereby worſe than themſelves. And in another
Epiſtle *(fratribus inferioris* Germaniæ:) —*Quos antea* (ſaith he) *noveram puros, candidos, & fraudis ignaros, eoſdem vidi, ubi ſe ſectæ dediſſent, loqui cœpiſſe de puellis, luſiſſe aleam*, &c. "Some perſons,
'whom I knew formerly innocent, harmleſs, and without deceit,
'no ſooner have I ſeen joyn'd to that Sect, but begun to talk of
'wenches, play at dice, leave-off prayers; grown extreamly
'worldly, moſt impatient, revengeful, vain, like vipers tearing
'each other. –I ſpeak by experience. *Calvin l. 6. de* Scandalis.
—*Cum tot hominum millia cupide* (ſaith he) *ut videbantur, nomen dediſſent Evangelio, quam pauci, obſecro, a ſuis vitiis reſipuerunt? Imo, quid præ ſe major pars tulit, niſi ut excuſſo ſuperſtitionum jugo, ſolutius in omnem laſciviam diffluerent, homines* Lucianici & Epicurei? 'Of
'ſo many thouſands, ſeemingly eager in embracing the [*new*] Goſ-
'pel, how few ſince have amended their lives? Nay to what elſe
'do the greater part pretend, but by ſhaking off the heavy yoke of
'ſuperſtition, to laſh out more freely like *Epicures*, or men of *Luci-*
'*ans* faith and temper, into all manner of looſneſs and laſciviouſ-
neſs. *Muſculus loci com. c. de Decalog.* —*Evangelici noſtri adeo ſibi ipſis facti ſunt diſſimiles, ut cum in Papatu fuerint in erroribus, ac ſuperſtitione Religioſi, in luce veritatis agnitæ, ſint ipſis hujus ſeculi filiis prophaniores, leviores, vaniores, & temerariores.* "Our [*new*] Goſ-
'pellers are grown ſo unlike themſelves, that whereas under the
'errors and ſuperſtitions of Popery they had yet ſome ſenſe of Re-
'ligion in them: now, ſince the light of the Goſpel has ſhin'd to
'em, they are become more prophane, light, vain, and temerari-
'ous, than the very children of this world.

§. 8.

Third'y, he broached a doctrine full of fraud and deluſion in it ſelf, and when it is thorowly examined, void of all that conſolation and ſecurity it pretends; tho few, that are taken with it, diſcern-

3. Void of conſolation, and contradicting it ſelf.

cern this. For *first*, he grants this full perſwaſion, that their ſins are forgiven them, to be ſuch a faith, as ſome may feign it to themſelves, and think they have it when they have it not. So that, tho all fully perſwaded are certainly juſtified, yet we may believe our ſelves fully perſwaded, and from this juſtified, when we are not ſo. *2ly.* That it is ſuch a faith when true, as hath always good works joyned with it, as the fruits, and ſigns thereof; by which our ſelves and others, and God at the laſt day, try it, whether true. For ſo he is pleaſed to interpret the Scriptures of *God's judging every one according to his works*, that is, by his works God tryeth him, whether he hath this true faith: ſo that, tho not when he is juſtified, yet when he hath this true faith, or full perſwaſion, whereby he comes to be juſtified, every one muſt go about trying this by his own good works; the way by which other men, and alſo God tryeth it. Since then ſome may fully believe that their ſins are forgiven, that do not *rightly* believe ſo; and there is no ſure ſign, but the neceſſary fruit of it, Good Works, or Chriſtian Virtues, (to which I add Repentance and Contrition) to know this true faith from the falſe; are not we ſtill reduced to the performance of theſe at leaſt, as the neceſſary fruits of true faith, and to the reviewing of theſe for the diſcerning our ſpiritual condition? And are not Monks to look upon their faſting, and prayers, and mortifications, contrition, and repentance, their temperance and continency, and obedience, and other Chriſtian virtues, from theſe at the leaſt to collect the truth of their Faith? and from that to collect the truth of their Juſtification? And is not *Luther* left ſtill, as well as when he was a Monk, for tryal of the truth of his faith, in the ſame ſollicitude, and doubtfulneſs, concerning his good works? *First*, That they be externally ſuch; and *then*, That they be alſo inwardly ſound, and free from Hypocriſy and Pride: which if they be not, the Monks before he was born knew and taught, as well as he, that they were nothing worth. I ſay not, *ſollicitous* that they be every way perfect, and without ſin: for no Monk (unleſs it were *Luther*) believes, that it is neceſſary they ſhould be ſo; becauſe they believe Remiſſion of all their ſins in all their works, as well thoſe after their Regeneration, as before, through the ſole merits of Chriſt; and ſay every day, *dimitte noſtra debita*, 'Forgive us our treſpaſſes. Now what avails it then here to tell me; that nothing, but non-believing can damn me; when this is tacitly reſerved; that when ever good works are not in me, I am neceſſarily an unbeliever? And to tell me, that if I ſtrongly believe that I am abſolved, I am abſolved from my ſins,

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quicquid sit de contritione, 'whether contrite or no? when this is reserved, that if I have not contrition, I never do or can with a true faith strongly believe that I am absolved from my sins.

§. 9. The 2d. upon the former doctrine, his holding a parity of all justified as to their future reward.

But these were secrets not observed by many well pleased with his doctrines *Luther* having made this progress in discovering a new Evangelical Faith; whereby he placed man's Justification only in it obtaining the application of Christ's merits, and the imputation of his righteousness unto us; and on the other side much vilified the righteousness inherent in the regenerate by infused Grace, (yet which Grace also was obtained for them through Christ's merits); he proceeded to hold a kind of equality in dignity and honour, and the celestial reward, amongst all that are once Justified, notwithstanding the great difference of their works and inherent holiness: to which purpose, on 1 *Pet.* 1. 3. he saith,—*Quia vero renati sumus Filii atque Hæredes Dei, pares sumus in dignitate & honore Divo* Paulo, Petro, *& Dei-paræ Virgini, ac Divis omnibus. Habemus enim* &c. 'Forasmuch as being regenerate we are there-'by the sons and heirs of God; we are also equal in dignity and 'honour to St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, the Bl. Virgin, and all the Saints. 'For we have the same treasure, and all good things from God in 'as large a measure as they; since it is requir'd, that they be rege-'nerate too, as well as we. Wherefore they have no more than 'any other Christians. And —*Fidei simplicitas* (saith he) *nos omnes ante conspectum Dei pares facit*: (*Exeg. in* 1 *Cor.*7.) i.e. 'the sim-'plicity of faith makes us all equal in the sight of God. And on 1 Pet. 1.2.—*In sanctificatione Spiritus*: —*Cogita* (saith he) *te ideo sanctum esse, quod Verbum Dei habeas, quod regnum Cælorum tuum sit, quod solide justus ac sanctus per Christum evaseris.* "Reckon your self 'therefore holy, because you have the Word of God, because yours 'is the Kingdom of Heaven, because you are become truly justified 'and sanctified by Jesus Christ. [*Which all the faithful partake alike.*] And —*Quod super terram vivimus,* (saith he) *nulla alia sit causa, quam ut etiam aliis adjumento simus, —ut ad fidem et alios adducamus*:" That we are continued alive still, [*after thus sanctified by 'faith,*] it is for no other reason, but that we may help others, and 'bring them to the faith.

§. 10. And vilifying religious Vows, and works of Mortification and Penance, especially Celibacy.

Upon this principle also he began much to distrelish and vehemently to oppose all Counsels of perfection, humane Ordinances, and religious Discipline, instituted for with-drawing souls from

temptations and occasions of sin; Vows of Poverty, or not retaining more than necessaries; Obedience to Superiours Commands, *i. e.* in all things not unlawful; retiredness, Canonical Hours of Prayer; fastings, disciplines, *&c.* used in Religious houses, as being the seeking of Justification, or Salvation, *per opera legis, per legem factorum, traditiones et inventiones hominum; justitias carnis*, &c. 'by the works of the law, the law of works, traditions, and human inventions, carnal righteousness, &c. To which purpose he saith, *(adversus falsum nominatum ordinem Episcoporum.) —Illi insani, ignarique fidei prorsus, et Spiritus, imperiti prorsus rerum* &c. in his Tract intitled, *Against the Episcopal Order falsly so call'd*; 'Those mad, ignorant fellows as to faith and the spirit, 'knowing nothing at all what belongs to spiritual things, seek to 'further and advantage them by their pitiful, sorry, little good 'works forsooth; their fasts, hair-cloths, scraps of prayers, confining themselves to such a part of the Monastery. Thus also he in his Comment on 1 *Pet.* 1. 5. —Qui in virtute Dei custodimini per fidem in salutem. —*Ratio huc atque illuc ducitur de uno opere in aliud, quippe quæ cupiat suis operibus in cœlum conscendere, hinc illa tot Collegiorum, Monasteriorum, Altarium*; &c. On those words, *Who in the virtue of God are kept by faith unto salvation*: " Reason (says 'he) is toss'd this way, and that way, from one work to another, as 'seeking to scale heaven by its own works. Hence such an inundation of Colledges, Monasteries, Altars, Priests, Monks; but in us, 'who believe, God keeps a right mind in all things, &c. For many 'seek to take heaven by force, [*as* St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 9. *I chastise my 'body, and bring it into servitude*,] and strait break in upon it. And 'therefore voluntarily they lay a cross upon themselves. So impossible is it for humane reason not to boast of its own works; but 'those things God condemns. And thus he writes in an Epistle to *Staupitius*, an encourager of his, for some time, but afterwards alienated from him; who in his advice to him told him, that—*Pœnitentia vera non est, nisi quæ ab amore justitiæ et Dei incipit*; " That 'is not true repentance, that does not spring from the love of righteousness, and of God. [*Words most true indeed: for without the love of God, and righteousness, or holiness, can be no acceptable Repentance.*] *Hæsit* (saith he) *hoc verbum tuum in me, sicut sagitta potentis acuta; his inhærens ausus sum putare eos falsos esse, qui operibus pœnitentiæ* &c. 'Those words of yours were to me as the sharp arrow of the 'mighty; and whilst I thought on them, at length I was so bold as 'to dare to think those deceiv'd, who attribute so much to works 'of repentance, that they have scarce left us any thing at all there-

of

'of besides certain formal satisfactions, and most dull tedious Confession, &c. [*As if these did not proceed from the love of God, and of holiness; and the greatest mortifications usually were not of those who more fervently love God and virtue; or mortifying the flesh, and having or being led by the Spirit, were* ἀσύστατα *inconsistent.*] And in his *Colloquies, c.*37. *p.*392. —"That no man ought to lay a Cross upon 'himself, or to make choice of a Tribulation, (as is done in Popedom): but if a Cross or Tribulation cometh upon him, then let 'him suffer it patiently; and know that it is good, and profitable 'for him; for we must learn (*saith he*), that Satan is a lyar, and a 'murtherer, and that heavinesse of spirit cometh of the Devil, who 'out of meer hatred wisheth that we might not enjoy so much as 'one hours solace, or comfort. He adviseth his also to shun solitarinesse. —'The Papists (*saith he p.*406.) do teach it; that if we 'intend to know Christ, and to keep our hearts pure, then we 'should covet to be solitary, and alone, and not amongst much fellowship: a man should be a *Nicholas*-brother, &c. —'The same '(*saith he*) is a Devilish perswasion, directly against the first and 'second Table of Gods Commandements; which teach, that we 'should do good to our neighbours; therefore we should use their 'company and fellowship. The same allegation is also against 'Matrimony, against House-laws, and Temporal Government. 'We see that our Saviour Christ (when he was here on earth) led 'no such solitary kind of life, he was not much alone; there was 'always a tumult of many people about him; he was never alone, 'but when he prayed. More and greater sins are committed when 'people are alone, than when they keep themselves to fellowship. When *Eve* in Paradise walked alone, then the Devil utterly 'misled and deceived her. I have my self found, that I never fell 'into more sin, than when I was alone. God hath created mankind to fellowship, and not to solitarinesse; which with this strong 'argument is approved: God in the Creation of the world created 'man, and woman, to the end that man of the woman should 'have a fellow. Solitarinesse inviteth Melancholly; and one being alone, hath offensive, heavy, and evil cogitations. To conclude; when one is alone, so hath he strange thoughts, and construeth a thing always in the worst sense, &c. Melancholy is an 'instrument of the Devil, through which he accomplisheth many things. [*The less reason he hath to commend solitude it seems, who found his own so comfortless, and peccant.*] Such language as this, this man useth, contrary to the Spirit of our Lord, (*Mat.* 19. 12.) and St. *Paul*, (1 *Cor.* 7. 1, 7, 8, 34, 35, 38, 40.) and the Church of

God in all ages. And thus was he a new kind of Reformer, from restraint of Laws to Christian Liberty; from Mortifications to Evangelical Indulgences; from the having an active holiness and righteousness in our selves, to the procuring of a passive righteousness in Christ; without our working at all as necessary to it derived to us, and put upon us; wherewith being cloathed, we reply to the Devil, Have I sinned, let Christ answer for it? (*Colloq.* 14. *c. Comment. in Gal. Præfat.*)

§. 11. n. 1. His writing against Monastical Vows.

This also he frequently inculcated to his followers: —'That 'all heaviness of mind and melancholly (*i.e.* about matters of salvation) cometh of the Devil; and that God hath sent his Son into the world, not to fright, but to comfort sinners. (*Colloquy c.* 37. '*p.* 392.) That in their anxieties concerning faith and salvation, 'the chiefest Physick for such a disease was firmly to hold, such cogitations not to be theirs, but that most sure and certain they 'come of the Devil; therefore they must use the highest diligence 'to turn their hearts upon other thoughts, and beat out such cogitations; to repair to Godly company, and avoid being alone. I mention this only to shew, that, tho this his counsel according to some circumstances is very good, yet, considering his notion of faith, nursing men in security concerning their own works, and obedience, it may be very pernicious to many persons in shaking off, and discarding the wholsom admonitions of their own Conscience (which should move them to a sorrow-working repentantance, and reformation,) as the suggestions of Satan.

§. 11. n. 2.

Now also he writ a Book against Monastick Vows, (dedicating it to his Father, to make an amends for his formerly taking such Vows much against his will, and rejoycing with him that now he had broken this yoke,) saying, that such Vows did—*adversari fidei, præceptis* Dei, *libertati Evangelicæ*; "were contrary to faith, the 'commands of God, and Evangelical liberty: And when told of the many former great Saints that had happily lived in such observance; —*Non nego* (saith he) *sanctos viros hac perversitate fæliciter usos, & miraculo divino servatos.* 'That holy men have happily made use of this perverseness, and miraculously been preserved, 'I deny not.

And much recommending the state of Marriage and vilifying Celibacy.

He writ also much in recommendation of Matrimony, and disparagement of Celibacy, contrary to the judgment and doctrine of our *Lord*, and of St. *Paul*, and of the Fathers, and former Church. For whereas our Lord saith, *Matt.* 9.12. —That there be those,

thoſe, who have made themſelves *Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heavens ſake*; [*which implies their Eunuchiſm to be from ſuch a gift of God as is attained by their endeavours; and that this is purſued by them for a better attainment of the Kingdom of Heaven*]; and ſo recommends ſuch an Eunuchiſm to all, with a *Qui poteſt capere capiat*, "He that can receive it, let him receive it: And whereas after him St. *Paul* doth the ſame, 1 *Cor.* 7. from *v.* 32. to the end, preferring Celibacy before Marriage, to thoſe who *have power over their own will*, and a firm reſolution thereto, *v.* 37. for many reaſons that are advantageous to ſalvation; as for their being *freed from the cares and troubles in the fleſh*; for their minding the things that *belong to the Lord, how they may pleaſe the Lord*: that they may attend wholly upon him without diſtractions; that they may be *holy both in body and ſpirit*; whereas the married *care alſo for the things of the world, how to pleaſe a husband, or a wife*, and ſo are in ſome ſort *divided*; I ſay, whereas ſuch things are delivered by our Lord and St. *Paul*, recommending much a ſingle ſtate of life before marriage for the better ſerving of God therein here, and ſo receiving an higher reward for this better ſervice hereafter in heaven: This man, as if poſſeſt with a contrary ſpirit, ſaith, —*Chriſtus ipſe non conſuluit* [cœlibatum,] *ſed potius deterruit; manifeſtavit ſolum & laudavit. (De votis Monaſtic.)* "Chriſt himſelf did not adviſe 'us to, but rather deterr'd us from, Celibacy: he only told us of it, 'and commended it. And the like he ſaith of St. *Paul*, in 1 *Cor.* 7. urging, to prove this he ſaith, our Lord's words, —*Non omnes capiunt verbum illud, ſed quibus datum eſt*: "All receive not this word, 'but thoſe onely to whom it is given. [*Whereas indeed it is given to all thoſe who uſe a juſt endeavour for it; like to thoſe who, he ſaid before, made themſelves Eunuchs*;] and urging St. *Paul's* words, —*unuſquiſq; proprium Donum habet ex Deo*, "Every one hath his 'proper gift of God, [*Proprium donum*, 'proper gift indeed, *but this according to the endeavour he uſeth for it, getting the maſtery over his will*, &c. 1 *Cor.* 7. 37.]

He acknowledgeth *Continency* to be a gift of God; but then he will have it a Gift no way acquirable by us, as other gifts and graces are, but ſuch as Miracles be, no way in our power to be procured by our prayers, or attained by our induſtry. —*Caſte* (ſaith he, Epiſt. to *Wolphgangus Reiſembuſch.*) *& integre vivere, tam non eſt in manu noſtra quam omnia reliqua Dei miracula, gra-'tia, & opera*: To live chaſt, and undefil'd, is no more in our pow-'er, than the other Miracles of God, his grace, and his works. *§.* 11. n. 3.

And

And *ibid.* —*Deus improbat istud votum, non secus ac si vovissem Dei Matrem me velle fieri, aut novum Cœlum condere velle*; God disap-
'proves such a Vow as that, all one as if we should vow to be-
'come the Mother of God, or the maker of a new world. A Gift he admits, but so rare, as —*Ubi unus castus est, ibi plusquam centies mille conjugatorum esse debent*: 'There ought to be more than one
'hundred thousand married persons, for one chast person not so. (*Exegef. in* 1 *Cor.* 7.) And therefore, tho not knowing any thing of particulars, he accuseth most impiously all Monasticks and Religious generally of living in continual fornication or uncleaness.

And therefore as the Apostle adviseth to Celibacy so many as can master their Wills, so *Luther* adviseth all to Marriage; not considering first with himself, whether they may not have this gift; nor yet shewing, since he makes it so singular, and unacquirable, how it may, by those that have it, be known; yet whereas surely it concerns so many as have vowed to God perpetual Celibacy, and also have received from God this gift of Continency, not to break such their Vow which they are able to observe, and wantonly change it for Matrimony; and will not all such fall under St. *Pauls* censure, as those Widdows did he spake of in 1 *Tim.* 5. 11. —*That they waxed wanton against Christ, and married?* And upon these terms at least it seems to have concerned *Luther* also, both for himself, and *Katherine Bora* his wife, both these having vowed, first to have cleared the point, that they were denied the gift of continency; of which denial every motion of lust that ariseth can be made no certain sign, since he saith, that the continent also may have some lustings, as is shewed by and by; and if he might discern his own inconsistent with that gift, yet how he could also know the Votaress *Katharine* also to be so, I am to learn. But also concerning his own Gift, since he discerned no lustings which he suffered in the heat of his youth, and when a Fryer, to have been inconsistent with the gift of continency in him; it seems strange how he could be assured, those that assaulted him after forty years old (had he used the due means of quenching them) to be so. Mean while as St. *Paul* recommends Celibacy, so thus he pleads for the necessity of Marriage, in his Epistle to *Wolphgangus*, mentioned before, without taking notice of any such gift as Continency; —*Qui se hominem esse agnoscit, ille inaudiat, quam Deus super omnem carnem pronuntiat sententiam, dicendo nimirum se nolle quenquam vivere* ἄγαμον, *sed multiplicare, Gen.* 2. —*Qui vero adeo* ἄγαμος, ἐμόγυνος *manere statuit, ille nomen hominis a se deponat, plane faciens se Angelum esse, aut Spiritum. Hoc enim a Deo nullo modo conceditur,* ἄγαμος *vivere*

volens

volens plane ἀκουσίῳ. *Non video hic quicquam consultius, quam clausis animi oculis quantocius ipsum opus aggredi ad quod a Deo creatos nos esse videmus & sentimus, dum magnis flammis quotidie in carne nostra adurimur. —Ne quæso conemur sanctiores esse* Abrahamo. 'He 'that owns him self a man, let him hear the sentence pronounc'd 'by God upon all flesh, saying he would have none live celibate, 'but *multiply*. Gen. 2. —But if any one does resolve to live sin-'gle, and without the care and trouble of children, let him lay 'aside the name of *man*, since he makes himself a downright Angel, 'or Spirit. For so impossible is it to live unmarried, that to at-'tempt it, is plainly to fight against God. What can be more ad-'viseable therefore, than with all possible speed to set about 'that very work, for which we plainly perceive, by the hot scorch-'ing flames daily burning within us, we are created. [*But not those persons, I hope, who have the gift of Continency; among whom might be the person he writ to, who had also made a vow of it.*] —Pray 'thee let us not strive to be holier than *Abraham.* And from such a necessity he held of the act of Marriage, and the want of the gift of Continency, it is that in his Sermon *de Matrimonio* he thus states the point. —*Ubi alter alteri se subduxerit, ut debitam benevolentiam persolvere nolit, hic opportunum est, ut maritus dicat; Si tu nolueris, alia volet. Si Domina nolit, adveniat Ancilla. Si publice & ante conspectum Ecclesiæ renuat, repudia eam; & in vicem* Vasti Ester *surroga.* "Where the one withdraws and witholds due Benevolence, 'from the other, [*speaking of the Married,*] here the husband may 'very well say to the wife, *If you will not, another woman will; For 'lack of the Mistress, welcome the Maid.* If she refuse, publickly, and 'in the face of the Congregation, put her away, and put *Ester* in '*Vashti's* room.

And yet when this man is consulted concerning a husband's being divorced for his wives sickness, he saith, (*Sermo de Matrimonio*) *Si te continere non posse improperes, te plane mentiri respondebo. Nam haud dubie Deus tibi robur impertiet.* 'If you so far slander your self, 'as to say you cannot contain; I must tell you plainly you lye; for 'without doubt God will enable you. [*I hope without miracle, and yet not without such a man's cautious endeavours thereof.*] In case also of ones having a bad and unsufferable wife, he gives this advice. —*Si ferre minus potest* [i.e. illius malitiam,] *ne pejus committat, divortium faciat, et perpetuo inconjugatus permaneat:* 'If he cannot bear 'with her [*frowardness,*] rather than do worse let him divorce her, 'and not marry after. [*He here also presuming of the husband's Continency.*] §. 11. n. 4.

tinency.] He ſaith alſo of himſelf, that during his Monaſtical life, in which he paſſed all the heat of his youth, not marrying till after forty, he lived continently. He grants alſo thoſe that have the gift of Continency not to be without luſtings, but theſe ſuch as 'they conquer. *Neq; dubium eſt,* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of the Apoſtle's –*Melius nubere quam uri,* better to marry than burn,) *quin ii quibus caſtitatis donum conceſſum eſt, quandoq; libidinem ſentiant, eaq; tententur; ſed quia tranſit & paſsim deperit, ideo eorum res in ſumma non eſt uſtio:* 'No doubt, *ſays he,* but they that have the gift of con-'tinency ſometimes feel ſome luſting within them, and are tempt-'ed with it; but becauſe it paſſes away, and dies, [*quenched doubt-'leſs by their rejecting and diverting their thoughts, as their paſsions are 'more tameable, and their affection to continency ſtronger,*] theirs in 'fine is not *burning.* And it is ſeen often, that men at ſome time much given to luſt and fornication, have afterwards lived moſt chaſtly their whole life without marrying, who could not have done ſo without having this gift from God; and therefore this gift ſeems ſuch, as without their own fault and neglect, they might have had from God ſooner.

§. 11. n. 5. Again, upon St. *Paul's* —*De Virginibus præceptum Dei non habeo;* 'as concerning Virgins, a commandment of our Lord I have not, 1 *Cor.* 7. 25. (to which the next words are, *Conſilium autem do,* 'but 'counſel I give,) he grants that here the Apoſtle, *Virginitatem cuiq; liberam relinquit,* "as to Virginity leaves every one to his own liberty. But then ſaith he, *Ubi præceptum non eſt, ibi nec meritum, nec merces, coram Deo relinquitur, ſed libertas quædam per ſeſe*; where 'there is no Precept, there is no place left for merit or reward be-'fore God; but bare liberty only, and no more. Quite contrary to St. *Paul,* c. 9. 18. *What is my reward,* &c. and contrary to our Lord's —*Qui poteſt capere, capiat,* "He that can, let him receive it; and St. *Paul's* –*Conſilium autem do,* "Counſel I give; and his *Bene facit,* "Does well, ſaid of Marriage; but *Melius facit,* "Does better, of a ſingle life: And is there then a reward with God for *doing well,* but none for doing *better?* And if Continency be a means of ſerving God more conſtantly, and free from diſtraction, hath it not in this a ſufficient reward why it ſhould be preferred?

§. 11. n. 6. Again, he grants alſo Celibacy and Continency to be a thing in ſome reſpect better than Marriage, (for how can he that comments on St. *Paul's* 1 Cor. 7. ſay otherwiſe?) but then he will have it better only as to the enjoying tranquillity and quiet in this

preſent

present life. To which purpose he saith, (*Exeg. in* 1 Cor. 7.) *—Hoc vere est Virginitatem prædicare, ejus tum altitudinem, tum merita, coram Deo non adducere, merum otium & tranquillitatem ejus in hac terra commendare.* "This is truly to commend Virginity, not to praise its 'height and excellency before God, but the bare quiet and tran-'quillity it affords in this life. And upon St. *Paul*'s —*Bonum est hominem sic esse*, 'tis good for a man so to be, 1 *Cor.* 7. 26. he comments —*De caducis hujus temporis Apostolus locutus est bonis*, "the Apostle 'speaks of the fading and temporary things of this life. And up-'on—*Qui non jungit, melius facit*, v. 38. 'He that joyneth not [*his Virgin in matrimony*] doth better, *De bonitate hujus mundi* (saith he) *intelligendum est*, "is to be understood in respect of this world only. As if the Apostle had not exprest himself before sufficiently, for its being much better in order to the things not of this, but of the next, world, and to the serving of God. But now to the contrary hear we *Luther* concerning the state of Marriage, what advantages as to men's salvation that hath before Celibacy. *Christiano* (saith he), *quem alia post hanc manet vita, prudenter impendio agitur, ut hic pauciores bonos dies transigat, quo in futura patria incessanter melioribus abundet*; (Exeg. in Cor.) *Sic quoq; Domino bene visum est, quum marem & fœminam condidit, & coadunavit*: 'In a Christian, 'who looks for another life and country, it is exceeding prudent to 'take care to have as few good days as he can here; that so he 'may incessantly enjoy the more hereafter. For so it was the will 'and pleasure of God, when he created male and female, and made 'them both one flesh: [viz. *that neither of them might see many good dayes here.*] Again, to the same tune afterwards: *Debebant* (saith he) *hæc inverti, ut matrimonium verus Spiritalis (status), id quod res est, appellaretur*; *Ordines autem Religiosorum veri seculares & mundani status, id quod sunt, nominarentur*: 'These things ought to be 'inverted, [i.e. *the calling of the state of the Religious Orders* Spiritual, '*and the Conjugal* Mundane,] Matrimony should have been call'd 'the Spiritual state, as indeed it is; and Religious Orders the Se-'cular and Mundane, as really they are. For saith he, *Perpende sacras Religiones* &c. *quid aliud est, quam eum statum quærere, in quo non opus sit nec oculos quidem in cœlum attollere, quotdiani panis expectandi gratia. —Sin Uxorem duxeris, primus insultus adest tibi; Qui te*, &c. 'For consider the Religious Orders: what are they else but such a 'state of life, wherein a man needs not so much as lift up his eyes to 'heaven to beg his daily bread? —But are you married? immedi-'ately the first outragious onset is this, How will you now main-'tain your self, your wife, and children? which is enough, not one-

'ly to teach and ſtir you up to think of God's grace and goodneſs, 'but enforce you alſo to have faith in him, whether you will or 'no.

Thus he, not minding well what he ſaith: As if our Lord, *Mark.* 4.19.—*Luk.* 8.14.—21.34. 14.20. and St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 28,32,34, 35. had not named cares of this life as great obſtructions to piety. He further proceeds, comparing theſe two ſtates. —*De uſu vel abuſu ſtatuum in præſenti nihil diſserimus, cæterum de conditione & natura ſtatuum in ſeſe; ac concludimus Matrimonium velut eſſe aurum, Spiritualem vero ſtatum* [i.e. Religioſorum] *ut ſtercus; propterea quod illud ad fidem, is vero ad impietatem promoveat:* "With the good or 'bad uſe made of theſe two ſtates I meddle not at preſent, but only 'their different natures and qualities in themſelves; and I con-'clude, that the ſtate of a Married life is as Gold, of a Religious as 'Dung: becauſe the former tends to faith, the latter to impiety, [*i.e. by its plenty and want of cares, and becauſe* non ex labore ſuo vivit, *it does not live by its own labour.*] But if he ſpeaks further how a Spiritual eſtate or Celibacy may be abuſed, he ſeems before to abſtract from this.

§. 11. n. 7. He much accuſed alſo the Fathers Encomiums, and practice, thereof; and ſaying (in *Colloq.* 50. *p.* 451.)—"That the Devil, 'who ſtirs men up to luſtful thoughts, laughed in his fiſt at St. *Je-'rom*'s ſtriking himſelf with ſtones at his remembrance of the Vir-'gin he had ſeen dancing at *Rome*, at St. *Bennets* rolling himſelf in 'thorns; St *Francis's* embracing Snow-balls; St. *Bernard's* chaſtiſ-'ing himſelf, and by his rigours getting a moſt loathſom ſtinking breath; and ſaying, 'That he much marvelled that the holy Fa-'thers ſuffered themſelves ſo fiercely to be tormented with ſuch 'fooliſh tribulations; well to be remedied, as long as Maidens are forth-coming. Moſt raſhly condemning the Monaſticks and Religious generally of ſtrange luſts, and uncleanneſs. Yet of the moſt of whom he could know nothing of any ſuch inchaſtity, or incontinency, and he preſumed it of them, even contrary to his own experience of himſelf, when a Monk; who teſtifies of himſelf, —*ſe ſervaſſe caſtitatem; & vixiſſe Monachum, non ſine peccato quidem, ſed ſine crimine:* 'that whilſt a Monk, he had liv'd chaſtly, (*in that on-'ly happy time of his*;) and tho not ſinleſs, yet without any grievous 'crime.

§. 12. Non-

Nor ſtays his Anti-celibacy here; but that after himſelf had ſo ſolemnly taken the Vow of Chaſtity, and, as you have heard him ſay, even in the greateſt heat of his youth ſo ſtrictly kept it; ſo that he might reaſonably preſume Continency a gift that was in his power, tho it ſhould not be in all mens; and therefore his vow of it, as of a thing in his power obliging; in the *forty ſecond* year of his age, when the boylings of Nature were now well aſſwaged and paſſed over, he boldly diſſolved this his Vow, and took a wife; and her not a woman diſ-engaged from a ſingle life, but who was a Votreſs alſo to Chriſt, of preſerving her Virginity; of which, for any thing he could know ſhe might alſo have the ſpecial gift. Her name was *Katherine de Bora*, a profeſſed Nunn; who with ſome others corrupted by the doctrine of *Luther*, and other new Reformiſts, had not long before deſerted her Cloyſter. And thus theſe *two* Votaries (to uſe the Apoſtle's language) *having caſt off their firſt faith*, and promiſe of ſerving God in a ſingle life, and *waxing wanton againſt our Lord*, whom they had formerly taken for their only Spouſe, married to one another: and the reaſon *Luther* gave for ſuch his marriage, was not this; *burning*, or fear of incontinency; but that he might leave his own Doctrine confirmed alſo by his own Example. (*Epiſt. ad Mich. Stifel.*)

§. 12. His throwing off his Monk's Hood, and marrying a Nunne.

Yet a thing it ſeems it was, which himſelf alſo not long after much regretted, as may be conjectur'd from thoſe words of *Camerarius, in vita Melanchthonis, p.* 102. *& Adam. vit. Luth. p.* 130. who ſaith, that —*Melanchthon non modo Lutheri dolorem moderatus eſt, ſed illum quoq; conſolando erexit; & triſtitiam moleſtiaſq; ejus hilaritate colloquiorum levavit, & ad priſtinam eum alacritatem reduxit:* 'When *Luther* was in his dumps, [*concerning his marriage, and the 'offence given by it,*] *Melanchthon*'s jeſts and merry talk *&c.* made him laugh, *&c.* And by *Luther's* procurement *Melanchthon* alſo himſelf, when now *forty* yeas old, took a wife; *nuptias conciliante potiſſimum* Luthero, '*Luther* chiefly making the Match; ſaith *Adams vit. Melanchthon. p.* 350. —And of it thus *Luther* in an Epiſtle to *Langius*: Philippo *ducitur* Catharina Crappin; *quod me Authore agi clamant: Ego homini, ſiquæ ſunt, optima facio, nihil moratus univerſorum clamorem.* "*Philip* has married *Katherine Crappin*, by 'my means they cry. I do for the man that which is beſt for him, [*to account marriage* optimum, *beſt, he muſt know* Melanchthon *not to have the gift of Continency,*] 'not mattering all their clamours. Thus he. —In the ſame year alſo that himſelf married, and probably a little before it, he writ an exhortatory Letter to *Wolfgan-*

gus Reissenbuch. (*in* 7. *tom. operum*,) of the Order of St. *Anthony*, one tied with Vows as himself was, to break them, and take a Wife: telling him his Vows were unlawful, because impossible; 'as, saith he, if I should vow to be the Mother of God: urging to him (instead of *Matt.* 19. *Qui potest capere capiat*, 'he that can re-'ceive it, let him receive it, and 1 *Cor.* 7. —*volo omnes sicut meipsum*, 'I would all men to be as my self, —and—*qui non jungit, melius facit*, 'he that joyneth her not in marriage, doth better) the 2*d.* of *Gen.* v. 18. *Non est bonum esse hominem solum*, 'It is not good 'for man to be alone, —and *Gen.* 1. 28. the precept, *Crescite, & multiplicamini*, increase, and multiply. And, *Adæ filii sunt*, (saith he) *& manebunt homines: hanc ob causam debent, & coguntur, iterum ex se relicto semine, procreare homines*: 'Men as being, and still like 'to be, sons of *Adam*, are under not only duty, but necessity of be-'getting others to leave behind 'em. —And—*Qui adeo ἀγαμῶ manere statuit, ille nomen hominis a se deponit; plane faciens se Angelum esse, aut Spiritum; Homini enim a Deo nullo modo conceditur*: 'He 'that resolves to continue single, let him renounce the name of '*Man*, since tis plain he must be an Angel or Spirit.

Nam non duxi uxorem, ut diu viverem, sed ut meam doctrinam, forte mox post meam mortem conculcandam, iterum proprio exemplo relinquerem confirmatam, pro infirmis: "I married a wife not to live the 'longer, but to leave my doctrine, [*what of the lawfulness of Votaries to marry? not such I hope as have the gift of Continency*,] which per-'haps, when I am dead, may be trampl'd upon, back'd by my own 'example and practice, for the weak brethrens sake.

§.13. His leaving off his Canonical Hours of Prayer.

Again: as to the former task of his daily Prayers when he was a Monastick, the recital of his Office, or Canonical Hours, wherein the whole book of Psalms is entirely repeated every week, besides many other Lections out of the Scriptures and Fathers, in his declining from the Church he by little and little threw of this yoke also; first deferring these Devotions to dispatch them altogether on Saturday; then discharging himself of them quite, and instead of them being satisfied with the recital only of the Lord's prayer. Of which thus *Hospinian*, (*Hist. Sacram. parte altera fol.* 4.) Lutherum *etiam post impugnatum Papatum aliquot annos se macerasse recitandis Horis Canonicis. Cum autem per labores crescentes non posset illis quotidie vacare, totam diem Sabbati septies repetendis impendisse, donec a* Philippo *admonitus, eam superstitionem abjecerit: motus hac* Philippi *oratione; Si peccatum esset*, &c. '*Luther*, after he had impugned 'the Papacy, yet still for some years macerated himself in reciting the

'the Canonical Hours. Afterwards when through buſineſs he 'could not attend it every day, he employ'd every Saturday for the 'repeating them ſeven times together, till advis'd by *Philip* he re-'jected that ſuperſtition. The argument that mov'd him was this: 'If the omiſſion of the recital of thoſe Prayers was a ſin, he was 'guilty already in not performing it daily as the law requir'd: If 'no ſin, why would he loſe ſo much time from more profitable and 'better things? *Luther* anſwered the advice was good, and from 'thence forward he would inſtead of the Hours recite the Lord's prayer. Tho I find it is ſaid in his life, *Melch. Adams. p.* 166. —that —*Sumſit ſibi fere quotidie certum tempus ad Pſalmos aliquot recitandos*: "That he daily allotted himſelf ſome time for the recital of ſome Pſalms. And himſelf ſaith in an Epiſtle *Tom.* 1. *p.* 222. —*Pſalterium exigit integrum virum*, "the Pſalms alone are enough to take 'up a whole man's time: Which makes me believe, that he never totally caſt off this Holy Exerciſe.

§. 14. His rejecting 3ly. the Authority of the preſent Church.

After the diſcovery of ſuch groſs Errors (as he fancied them) in the Church, and his new Comments made on the Scripture, not diſpleaſing to many, as yeilding much comfort to great ſinners, and relaxing ſtrict life; the next thing which followed, was the throwing off his Obedience to her Authority. But this by certain degrees. Queſtioned for his Doctrines, and upon this cited to *Rome*, he made friends to have his cauſe heard in *Germany*. Heard, and condemned in *Germany* (by Card. *Cajetan* for one, a moderate and learned Prelate,) he now appealed to *Rome*, and to the Pope. But well perceiving alſo, that his doctrine would be moſt certainly condemned there, as it was, he ſuddenly intercepted this Appeal with another (ſee *Adams vit. Luth. & opera Luth.* 1. *tom.*) made from the Pope to a Council. But perceiving that neither thus (the uſual former laws of Councils being obſerved; or only this law of all Aſſemblies, that the much major part ſhall conclude the whole) his doctrine could ſtand, (as indeed it did not) he appeals yet again from Councils to Scripture: where now he knew himſelf ſafe (as any Hereſy, tho never ſo abſurd, would be) in chuſing that to be the Judge, or decider of the Controverſie, which could never deliver any new ſentence on any ſide; and concerning the meaning of whoſe former ſentence is the preſent Controverſy: but if he means here an Appeal to the Scriptures, *i. e.* to that which either Chriſtian Princes, or the common Profeſſors of Chriſtianity in general (for ſuch he names for his Judges ſometimes) ſhall declare to be the true ſenſe of them; here *firſt*, it ſeems unreaſonable, concerning

cerning the meaning of God's Word, to prefer the judgment of the Laity before that of the Clergy; of the Churches Subjects, before that of their Governours. *Secondly*, Thus also his cause is lost; for after all his allegations of Scripture produced, and divulged in his writings, the Princes and the Common people also of Christianity that condemn his doctrine, did then, and do still very much out-number those, who approve it.

§. 15. n. 1. The 4th. his denying the then present to be a true Church, or the Clergy thereof a true Ministry, affirming the Pope to be Antichrist.

He stayed not here, only in an absolute disobedience [*not only of non-assent, but also of open contradiction*] to all Church-authority; but proceeded so much farther, as to deny the present visible Church, or that of many former Ages to be a true Church, (he, *De judicio Ecclesiæ de quavis doctrina*, making this the only note of the true Church, that therein the Gospel be purely and sincerely preached), or to have in it any true Clergy, or Ministry. And again, from this defect of a true Clergy he argued, that there had bin formerly in celebrating the Eucharist no true Consecration of the Elements for operating the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, [*tho the mean-while he justified his own, and his Disciples Consecration to be effectual herein*]: and therefore that the people had continually committed Idolatry in worshiping the naked Bread as Christ's Body. This urged to him, as he saith, (*De Missa privata & unctione Sacerdot.*) by the Devil, to reduce him, for many years guilty of such Non-consecrations, to despair, he assented to, and afterwards maintained. Next from this he made yet a further discovery, of the chief Bishop in the Church, the Pope, his being Antichrist; the Bishops his Apostles; and the Universities his *Lupanaria*, or Brothel-houses, (for the Universities much afflicted him.)

§. 15. n. 2. The 5th. his rejecting the authority also of the former and ancient Church, Councils, & Fathers.

Thus having cast off, blasted, and defied to the uttermost all present Church-Authority; next, sollicited that at least, concerning the sense and meaning, or right exposition of the Scriptures, he would stand to the judgment of the ancient Church, and be tryed by it: This also he expresly renounced, frequently vilifying the doctrine of the Fathers, their weak interpretations of Scriptures; and accusing them of many errors and contradictions.

§. 16. Some Instances and testimonies. 1. Concerning his rejecting the present church-Authority.

For these things it were easie to produce out of his Writings a multitude of testimonies.

For the newness of his opinions, and his marching alone against the doctrines of present, and former Church, he every where acknowledgeth it, not to say glorieth in it, as a thing arguing his singular

ſingular illumination, and wiſdom. Nay *Eraſmus* (Ep. to *Juſtus Jonas)* ſaith it was obſerved of him; That where he agreed in ſenſe, yet he ſtrove to expreſs himſelf contrary to the former uſual doctrine. *Aiunt* Lutherum, *aliquoties, quum eadem doceat quæ cæteri, tamen verbis ipſis id videri conari, ut diverſiſſima videatur adferre*; as particularly appears in his Expoſitions of ſome of his condemned aſſertions. *(Aſſertio Articulorum.)* —See his book *de Captivitate Babylonica*, in the entrance of his diſcourſe on the Maſs, where —*Rem arduam* (ſaith he) *& quam fortè ſit impoſſibile convelli aggredior; ut quæ tanto ſæculorum uſu firmata, omniumq; conſenſu probata, ſic inſederit, ut neceſſe ſit majorem partem librorum, qui hodie regnant, & pene univerſam Eccleſiarum faciem tolli, & mutari, penituſq; aliud genus cæremoniarum induci, ſeu potius reduci. Sed majori cura verbum Dei oportet obſervare, quam omnium hominum, & Angelorum intelligentias.* "A hard, and perhaps unfeaſible task, the aboliſhing 'that which being ratified by the practice of ſo many Ages, and approv'd by general conſent, is at length ſo ſettled, that the greateſt 'part of books now in vogue, nay almoſt the whole face of the 'Church muſt be taken away and chang'd, and quite another kind 'of ceremonies induc'd, or rather reduc'd. But the Word of God 'is more to be regarded than all the wit of men or Angels. And in his Preface to his book *de abroganda Miſſa privata.* —*Quot medicamentis* (ſaith he), *quam potentibus, & evidentiſſimis Scripturis meam ipſius conſcientiam vixdum ſtabilivi, ut auderem unus contradicere Papæ, & credere eum eſse Antichriſtum, Epiſcopos ejus eſse Apoſtolos, Academias eſse ejus Lupanaria? quoties mihi palpitavit tremulum cor, & reprehendens objecit eorum fortiſſimum* &c. 'With how many pow-'erful remedies, and moſt evident Scriptures, and yet all little e-'nough to my wavering conſcience, did I bring my ſelf at length 'to dare (one ſingle man) to contradict the Pope, and believe him 'to be Antichriſt, the Biſhops his Apoſtles, the Univerſities his 'Brothel-houſes? How often have I trembl'd and quak'd for fear, 'and chidingly objected to my ſelf that their ſtrongeſt and onely 'argument? *Are you alone in the right? Is all the world beſides in the wrong?* In the Preface to his book, *Adverſus falſo-nominatum Ordinem Epiſcoporum*, he as it were, repenting of his former reſpects, thus defies them, and withdraws his doctrine from theirs, and all humane cogniſance and cenſure. —*Jam ante pronuncio, me de cætero (quandoquidem palam veritati reſiſtitis) non tantum honoris habiturum vobis, ut me, aut meam doctrinam, veſtro, vel ullius Angeli de Cælo, judicio ſubjicere digner. Satis enim nunc datum eſt ſtultæ hac humilitati* &c. "I now declare before-hand, that for the future I will

'will not vouchsafe you so much honour, as to submit my self or 'doctrine to your judgment, or an Angels from heaven. Enough 'of this foolish humility already. —As for those pertinacious hy-'pocrites and Pharisees, let 'em know, that [*Doctrine*] is not only 'past the judgment of men, but (as the Apostle says) of Angels too.

§. 17. 2. The Pope's being Anti-Christ. Concerning the Pope's being Antichrist, all his Works are full of it, which was the Foundation of all his animosity and courage against the Church-Catholick; an error corrected of late by many learned Protestants, *Grotius*, *Hammond*, *Thorndike*, and others.

§. 18. 3. The invalidity of the Clergy. Concerning the nullity, and invalid Ordination of the former Churches Clergy, the Devil seems to have bin the first discoverer thereof to *Luther*, by this, as *Luther* apprehends, to make him despair. He therefore (*de Missa privata & Unctione Sacerdotum*, as *Luther* himself relates it) strongly accused him of his and the peoples committing Idolatry, so often as he had said Mass, (which was usually every day) in adoring only a piece of Bread; and this because he was no true Priest, nor rightly ordained, and therefore neither rightly consecrated; but the Elements still remained Bread and Wine. Again: proved, that he was no true Priest formerly, no more than the Turkish Priests are truly so, because he had no right faith, nor was a true believer, [*i. e. after* Luther's *new way of faith, of which both the Disputants were agreed that it was the right*]. Again, neither rightly ordained according to our Lord's Institution, because —*Non in Sacerdotem Sacramenti, sed in Sacerdotem Oblationis Ordinatus est*; "Ordain'd a Priest, not to consecrate 'a Sacrament, but offer a Sacrifice: and because, *sibi soli, non Ecclesiæ ministravit*, 'ministred to himself alone, [*viz. in private Masses*, &c.] 'and not to the Church. After which Satan thus concludes, *voce gravi, & forti*, 'in a grave, and strong voice: *Ergo nunc hoc urgeo te non consecrasse in tua Missa, sed obtulisse, & adorasse tantum Panem & Vinum, & aliis adorandum proposuisse*; This therefore I urge, 'That in 'your Mass you did not consecrate, but offer'd only, and your self 'ador'd Bread and Wine; and elevated it to be ador'd by others. These Arguments, how weak soever they may seem to you, or me, and for all that the Father of Lies spake them, perswaded *Luther*; and, convinced, he would not give the Devil the lie, but fairly, upon this conference, dismissed his former private Masses, and his Sacerdotal unction. —*In summa* (saith he) *nos ab ipsorum Privatis Missis, ab unctione Episcoporum liberati sumus: viderint ipsi nunc Domini Papistæ &c. quomodo sua Pergama defendant*: In fine, we are freed

'freed from their private Masses, and the Ordination of Bishops. 'Let the Lordly Papists &c. now see to defend their Posts. And afterwards in the same discourse argues thus against the Clergy that then was: —*Sive in ipsorum Missa adsit Corpus Christi, sive non adsit, de quo ipsi sint solliciti, tunc extra gravem culpam non sunt. Si enim tantum adest Panis, & Vinum, (ut res dubia est, & periculo plena), ipsi sunt maximi impostores sub Sole, &c. si adest, ipsi maximi sacrilegi; &c.* "In their Mass whether Christ's Body be present or no, (a-'bout which let them be as solicitous as they please) they are great-'ly to blame. For if there be only bread and wine (as the question 'is doubtful and dangerous) they are the greatest impostors under 'the Sun. But if Christ's body be there, they are most sacrilegious, 'in not communicating it to others, as well as receiving it them-selves. Thus *Luther*, perceiving the former Priesthood or Ministry invalid, and uneffective, fell to ordaining, and raising another Ministry of his own; that ever since, when it consecrateth, faileth not to produce in the Eucharist a Consubstantiation of Christ's Body at least; so the people may safely adore. This of his nullifying the former Church'es Clergy.

§. 19. His rejecting Councils.

Next concerning the Councils of the Church, he saith in his 29*th.* Article, (*Assertio Artic.*) *Ego doceo Conciliis dissentire, & resistere, si quando contraria Scripturæ statuunt: Scripturam, inquam, volo judicem esse Conciliorum.* 'I teach men to dissent from, and resist 'the Decrees of Councils, when contrary to Scripture. [*He must mean here contrary to what he apprehends to be the sense of Scripture.*] 'I will, I say, have Scripture to be the Judg of Councils. Again, in his book *De judicio Ecclesiæ de gravi doctrina*, he saith, — *Christus adimit Episcopis, Doctoribus, & Conciliis tum jus, tum potestatem, judicandi de doctrina, ac tradit illa omnibus Christianis in genere*: 'Christ 'takes from the Bishops, Doctors, and Councils, both the right and 'power of judging Controversies, [*he means so as to oblige others,*] 'and gives them to all Christians in general, [*he means as to judge every one for himself, quoting there for it* Jo. 10. *Oves meæ vocem meam audiunt; alienum autem non sequuntur, sed fugiunt* &c. 'My sheep hear 'my voice, they follow not a stranger, but flee from him. *And* 1 Thes. 5. *Omnia probate*, 'Try all things.] So in *Assertio. Art.* 36. *contra Regem* Angliæ. —*Attendite a falsis Prophetis*, 'beware of false Prophets, *Mat.* 17. 15, —*Hæc sola authoritas satis esse queat adversus omnium Pontificum, omnium Patrum, omnium Conciliorum, omnium Scholarum sententias, quæ jus judicandi & discernendi solis Episcopis & Ministris tribuerunt.* —*In ipso Concilio* Niceno, *omnium optimo,*

jam tum incipiebant leges condere, & jus istud sibi vindicare. —Quare si talis error, tantum sacrilegium, tanta longitudine temporis regnavit, semel volo tot Sophistarum os obstructum &c. —*Jus condendi leges solius Dei est.* 'This one Text (says he) may suffice against the 'authorities of all the Popes, Fathers, Councils, and Schoolmen, who attribute to Bishops and Ministers the sole power of judging 'and deciding controversies. –In the very Council of *Nice*, the best 'that ever was before or since, even then began they to make 'laws, and claim that power. –Wherefore since such an er-'ror and so great sacriledge has been able to prevail so long, I 'will once for all that these Sophisters leave their prating &c. —The right of making laws is God's alone. And, *in Articulis de* Papatu, *de* Conciliis, Indulgentiis, *aliisq; non necessariis* &c.. 'In the 'Articles (*saith he*) about the *Papacy*, *Councils*, *Indulgences*, and o-'ther unnecessary trifles, the levity and folly of the Pope and his 'followers is more tolerable, &c. In *Assert. Art.* 28. concerning the Church'es Laws in things indifferent: *Sive Papa, sive Patres, sive Concilium sic aiunt, sic sentiunt, nemini debent* &c. 'For the Pope, 'or Fathers, or Councils saying, or thinking this or that, it ought 'to prejudice no man: but let every one, in things not necessary to 'salvation, abound in his own sense. —And *de abrog. Missæ.* –*Quod sine verbo Dei ordinatur, non ab Ecclesia, sed a Synagoga Satanæ sub Ecclesiæ nomine ordinatur:* "What is ordained without the Word of 'God, not the Church but the Synagogue of Satan, under her name, ordains it. And in the distractions of the new Reformation some motioning a Synod to be called amongst them, as necessary for settling them, he gives his grave judgment of Synods thus, (in *tom.* 2. *p.* 243.) *Quantum-vis bono zelo tentata, est res mali exempli, ut probant omnia Ecclesiæ Concilia ab initio:* A thing, however zealously 'attempted, yet of ill example; as all the Councils of the Church do shew. [*So far as not to spare that of the Apostles.* Act. 15.] *Ita ut in Apostolico Concilio, fere de operibus & traditionibus magis quam de fide* &c. 'In the Synod of the Apostles was treated in a manner of 'works and traditions, rather than of faith; but in all others since, 'never at all of faith, but always of opinions and questions. Insomuch 'that I begin to suspect and hate, as much almost the name of 'Councils, as of Free-will. Whence we may gather that a Council was appealed to by him, only because he hoped none would be called, or assembled, and that he was content to stand to a Judge that would never hear his cause; and that this was like the thief's appeal from God and the Country, to be judged by Christ and his twelve Apostles. At length when he saw that a Council was al-

ready

ready called, and likely would be convened; he, to prevent the damage it might do to his new Religion, (which he well foresaw,) took his pen, and writ a book of Councils, *A.D.* 1539. five years before the Council of *Trent* began, and before that he could raise any particular quarrel against it; wherein he forbears not to asperse even the most sacred and famous Councils that ever were, the Apostolical, *Act.* 15. and the first *Nicene*; arguing from the injunction of the first, *to abstain from blood, and things strangled*, (which was only temporary), that it is lawful not to obey the decrees of Councils; and saying of the second, That its Canons are *fœnum, stramen, ligna, stipulæ*, 'Hay, straw, wood, stubble: And concerning the third Canon, prohibiting the Clergy, *Ne haberent secum mulierem extraneam, nisi forte sit mater, aut soror, aut avia, aut amita, aut matertera*; 'That they should not have with them [*in their 'house*] any woman that was a stranger, unless their Mother, Si-'ster, Grandmother, or Aunt, *se non intelligere Sanctum Spiritum in hoc Concilio*," That he did not understand the Holy Ghost in this Council: Again, *An vero nihil aliud est negotii Spiritui Sancto in Conciliis, quam ut impossibilibus, periculosis, non necessariis legibus suos ministros obstringat, & oneret?* 'Has the Holy Ghost nothing to do, 'but to bind and burden its Ministers with impossible, dangerous, 'and unnecessary laws? Lastly, affirming, *Majus lumen accedere Doctrinæ Christianæ ex Catechismo puerili, quam ex omnibus Conciliis*, 'That the Christian doctrine received more light from the Chil-'drens Catechism, than all the Councils. Not considering, the end of these great meetings, not to prescribe Catechisms, or known Principles, but to decide matters controverted, and to support the Church'es Doctrine or Discipline, where some pertinacious adversaries, or corrupt manners have invaded them. Lastly, we may judg how he would have received the sentence of another Council against himself, by his censure of the Council of *Constance* its condemnation of *J. Huse*; concerning which he useth this language &c. (*Assert. Art.* 30.) *Omnes articulos* Johannis Huse Constantiæ *esse damnatos ab Anti-Christo, & suis Apostolis, in Synagoga illa Satanæ, ex sceleratissimis Sophistis congregata, & in faciem tuam, sanctissime Vicarie Christi, tibi libere dico, omnia damnata* Johannis Huss *esse Evangelica, & Christiana, tua autem omnia prorsus impia, & Diabolica*: 'All 'John Huss'es Articles were condemned at *Constance* by Antichrist 'and his Apostles, in that Synod of Satan made up of those wicked 'Sophisters; and I tell you plainly to your very teeth, you most 'holy Vicar of Christ, That all *John Huss'es* condemned doctrines 'are Evangelical and Christian, but all yours altogether impious 'and Diabolical.

§.22. Come we now to the Ancient Church, and to the Fathers, to
vs. And Father. see what price he sets on them. In the conclusion of his book *contra Regem Angliæ*, he saith: *Non ego quæro, quid* Ambrosius, Augustinus, *Concilia, & usus sæculorum dicunt. —Miranda est stultitia Satanæ, quæ iis me impugnat, quæ ipse impugno; & perpetuo principium petit. –Pro libertate ego pugno, Rex pro captivitate*: 'I care not 'what *Ambrose, Augustin,* Councils, and the practice of Antiquity 'says. A strange folly of Satan this to oppose me with those very 'arguments I impugn; and always beg the question. —I fight for 'liberty, the King for slavery. [*Slavery*, in submitting to the Fathers.] *In Assertione Articul. –Jam quanti errores in omnium Patrum scriptis inventi sunt? Quoties sibi ipsis pugnant? Quis est, qui non sæpius Scripturas torserit?* 'In the writings of every one of the 'Fathers how great errors are there? How oft do they contradict 'themselves? Who is there of them, who does not very many times wrest the Scriptures? And (in the beginning,) *—Primum scire contestatosq; eos volo, me prorsus nullius sancti Patris authoritate cogi velle, nisi quatenus judicio divinæ Scripturæ fuerit probatus,* &c. 'I will 'have 'em know, and do take 'em to witness, That I will stand to 'no Father, further than he shall be allow'd by the word of God, '[*i.e. his own sense of it,*] which thing I know they will take 'very ill. —And they say the Holy Scriptures are not to be interpreted by a private spirit. —And *–Cur non liceat hodie, aut solum, aut primum sacris literis studere, sicut licuit primitivæ Ecclesiæ?* Why may 'not we now, as well as they of the primitive times, study only or 'chiefly the Scriptures? [*as if nothing descended by Tradition.*] –In his Protestation before his book *de abrogatione Missæ. —Protestor imprimis* (saith he) *adversus eos, qui insanis vocibus in me sunt clamaturi; quod contra ritum Ecclesiæ, contra statuta Patrum, contra probatas Legendas,* &c. "First of all I protest against those, who shall 'furiously cry out of me, for teaching contrary to the rites of the 'Church, the doctrine of the Fathers, approv'd Legends, and most 'ancient custom, That I will hear none of these things. —Be it 'known to the ignorant Popes, wicked Priests, sacrilegious Monks, '&c. that we are not baptiz'd, nor do believe in the name of *Augustin, Bernard, Gregory,* &c. Tell not me, *Bernard* liv'd and wrote 'so and so; but so he ought, according to the Scriptures, to have 'liv'd, and writ. Concerning the chief Controversy, that of the 'Mass, being pressed by King *Henry* the *8th.* with the authority of 'the ancient Church concurring with the present, that it is a Sa'crifice; and using it as such he answers thus. *—Ultimo dicta Patrum inducit* Rex *pro Missario Sacrificio, & ridet meam stultitiam;*

quod

quod solus vellem sapere præ omnibus. Hoc est quod dixi; &c. 'Lastly, 'the King alledges the Fathers for the Sacrifice of the Mass, laugh-'ing at my folly, that would be wiser than all the world besides. 'Is it not as I said? these blockheaded *Thomists* have nothing to pro-'duce for themselves but a multitude of Authors, and ancient cu-stom. —And *Captiv. Babylonica*, he resolves, —*Si nihil habetur, quod dicatur, satius est omnia negasse, quam Missam Sacrificium esse, concedere.* "Is there nought to be reply'd? [i.e. *in answer to the Fathers.*] 'Better however to deny all, than grant the Mass to be a Sacrifice. And on the same matter, *in Missa privata*: —*Hic non moramur* (saith he) *si clamitent Papistæ, Ecclesia, Ecclesia; Patres, Patres; quia, ut dixi, hominum dicta aut facta nihil in tam magnis causis curamus. Scimus enim ipsos Prophetas lapsos esse, adeoq; Apostolos*: &c. 'Here 'we value not the Papists crying, *the Church, the Church*; *Fathers*, '*Fathers*: because, as I said, what men say or do in such cases as 'these, it matters not. For we know, the very Prophets, nay even 'the Apostles themselves, have err'd. By the words of Christ [*i.e. by that which he apprehends to be the sense thereof; wherein why may not he be mistaken, if others are?*] 'we judge the Church, the Apostles, 'nay even the very Angels. Lastly, see his *Colloquies* c. 27, 29, 30. what a character he gives of the Fathers to his companions: 'That 'God's Word of it self pure, bright, and clear, through the do-'ctrines, books, and writings of the Fathers, (like milk strained 'through a Coal-sack) is very sorely darkned, falsified, and spoiled. '—That there is great darkness in the books of the Fathers, con-'cerning Faith. —That *Austin* wrote nothing to the purpose 'concerning Faith: —For he was first rouzed up and made a man 'by the *Pelagians*. —That at the first he willingly read *Austin*; 'but when the door of St. *Paul* was opened unto him, (insomuch 'that he knew what was the righteousness of faith,) then he had 'done with St. *Austin*; and that the Fathers were of very small va-'lue. —That *Chrysostom* was only a talker; *Basil*, meerly a Fry-'er; *Cyprian*, a weak Divine; *Tertullian*, amongst the Church-'teachers a meer *Carolostadius*. That *Bernard* did *nimium tribuere præceptis, & libero arbitrio*, 'attribute overmuch to precepts and free-'will. That *Macarius*, *Antonius*, and *Benedictus*, brought apparent 'mischief to the Church with their Monkery; that they lead a 'private grizly kind of life, far from a Holy. That he knew none 'among the ancient Teachers of the Church that he hated like '*Jerom*; for he writeth only of fasting, of victuals, of virginity, &c. 'teacheth nothing neither of faith, nor hope, nor love, nor of the 'works of faith. —That the Fathers stumbled oft-times, and ming-

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'led in their books many impertinent and Monkiſh things. —That 'the Apology of *P. Melanchthon* ſurpaſſeth all the Fathers of the Church, yea St. *Auſtin.* —And in his Preface to his Works he ſaith: *Non in omnibus omnium Patrum Scriptis, tantum reperiri Eruditionis Theologiæ, quantum in locis hiſce Communibus: Et ſi omnia illorum Scripta conflentur, & colliqueſcant, non tamen Locos* Philippi *inde proditurosꝰ*: " More learning to be found in thoſe *Common-'places*, than in all the Fathers; which all melted in one lump to-'gether, would not make one ſuch book as *Melanchthons.* Such ſtuff as this it ſeems he uſually vented; and his friends *Aurifaber*, and others, who heard them from him, had not the diſcretion to conceal them, and to cover his ſhame and nakedneſs.

§. 21. n. 1. The 6th. his ſetting up his own authority, and maintaining his own doctrines as certain and infallible truth,

This his contempt and low eſteem of all other humane authority, and of their doctrines, was accompanied (as uſually) with a moſt high eſteem of his own; ſo greatly liable to miſtakes and errors he thought others, ſo little himſelf; and how much uncertainty he put in their opinions, ſo much certainty in his own; confidently ſtiling by the name of God's word his Expoſitions, and ſenſe thereof, tho theſe contrary to that formerly delivered; uſing frequently ſuch expreſſions; That if an Apoſtle, or an Angel from Heaven ſhould come, and teach contrary to ſuch his Expoſitions, let him be *Anathema*; and, —That if he was deceived, God had deceived him; and ſuch things he ſaid, not only of thoſe Expoſitions of his againſt the Church of *Rome*, but thoſe made againſt other Proteſtants; thoſe made againſt *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, &c. and of the contrary of which his Proteſtant poſterity think themſelves moſt certain; equally certain always of his being in the right: and having no leſs affirmed his certainty even in thoſe things wherein himſelf afterwards changed his opinion: who is much noted, both by his enemies, and friends, to have contradicted in his latter, many things in his former Works: (as better diſcerning truth, ſay the one; as more ſtill departing from it, ſay the other); and to have contradicted thoſe Expoſitions of Scripture concerning the Lord's Supper in his later writings againſt *Carolſtad*, and *Zuinglius*, which he delivered for certain in his former againſt Catholicks. See the particulars —ſhewed by *Hoſpinian hiſt. Sacram.* 2. *part. fol.* 8, 9, 12. and ſo of many things, whereof he was once certain, he became afterwards as certain of the contrary.

§. 21. For

For example, ſee in his doctrine of Conſubſtantiation, wherein he was oppoſed by other Proteſtants, he pretended as much certainty, and as clear revelation thereof in God's word; as in any of thoſe, wherein he oppoſed the former Church. —*Si quiſquam mihi perſuadere potuiſſet* (ſaith he *Ep. ad Argent.*) *in Sacramento præter panem & vinum eſſe nihil, magno beneficio me ſibi devinctum reddidiſſet; gravibus enim curis anxius, in hac excutienda materia multum deſudabam; omnibus nervis extenſis me extricare & expedire conatus ſum*; &c. 'Could any man have perſwaded me, there was nothing but 'bread and wine in the Sacrament, he had much oblig'd me. For 'being in great perplexity, I took great pains in diſcuſſing this 'point; I endeavoured with all my might to extricate and free 'my ſelf, as well perceiving I ſhould thereby very much incom-'mode the Papacy, in the firſt place. But I ſee I am caught, no 'way of eſcaping left me: For the words of the Evangeliſts are too 'plain and clear to be forc'd to any other meaning. Again: —Declaring againſt the new Sacramentaries, (*Epiſt. qua ſe excuſat de Sacramentario errore apud Hoſpin. fol.* 133.) —*Hæc mea in Sacramenti negotio fides eſt, de qua certus ſum, quam etiam nemo mihi hominum eripiet unquam*: &c. "In the buſineſs of the Sacrament this is my 'faith; whereof I am certain, and which no man ſhall ever take 'from me: which alſo I profeſs, that all may ſee, that I aſſent to 'the clear and manifeſt words of Scripture againſt all errors anci-'ent and modern; and reſiſt the malice and wiles of the Devil; for 'Chriſt our Lord will not lye to me. So *contra Regem* Angliæ. *Decerno* (ſaith he) *impium eſse, & blaſphemum, ſi quis dicat Panem tranſubſtantiari*; *Catholicum autem, et pium, ſi quis cum* Paulo *dicat*, Panis, quem frangimus, eſt corpus Chriſti, *Anathema ſit qui aliter dixerit, et Iota vel apicem unum mutarit*: 'To ſay with *Paul, The bread which we break is the Body of Chriſt*, [i.e. *in his way of Conſubſtantiati-'on*,] I aver to be orthodox and pious; as, That *the Bread is tran-'ſubſtantiated*, wicked blaſphemy. Let him be *anathema* that ſhall 'ſay otherwiſe, and change one *Iota* or tittle. Yet beſides that, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, and his followers tell me, that *Luther*'s certainty in this point was but a deluſion, and God's Word revealing no ſuch thing as he pretended; a little before his going to *Iſlebium*, and but a few days before his going out of this world, *Jan.* 23. 1546. it is reported, that his former certainty in this point vaniſhed; and *Melch. Adams* in his life, *p.* 165. relates ſuch diſcourſe as this paſſing between him and *Melanchthon*, and ſets down ſeveral witneſſes of it; and the ſame ſtory is yet further confirmed by *Hoſpinian* (*fol.* 201. &c.) —Lutherum *fateri, ſe longius in Controverſia Sacramentaria*

§. 21. n. 2. Tho theſe in his latter, and former times much varying.

taria progressum. Tum Melanchthonem *suasisse, ut leni scripto edito sese explicaret. Ad id respondisse* Lutherum: —*Hoc modo totam doctrinam suspectam se redditurum.* "*Luther* confess'd he had gone too 'far in the Sacramentarian controversy. Then *Melanchon* advis'd 'him, by publishing some moderate Treatise, to explain himself. 'To which *Luther* answer'd, That by this means his whole Do-'ctrine would become suspected. None of his Doctrines having been to his followers more assured by him, more zealously maintained than this; and I suspect some artifice of his in such his assurances of his doctrines, from that Apology made by him to those who blamed his mordacity, and railing. —*Video* (saith he, 2. *tom. Ep. p.* 6.) *quæ nostro sæculo quiete tractantur, mox cadere in oblivionem, nemine ea curante:* "I see now adays, things modestly written [*such as are delivered without asseverations of the truth thereof*] 'are 'quickly forgotten, none regarding them. [*Without crying*, verbum Dei, *the Word of God, he would have found few followers.*]

§. 22. The 7th. impatiently suffering opposition; excommunicating, & anathematizing any others, tho reformed, that contradicted his doctrines.

From this his great self-opinion, in his own so freely dissenting from, and opposing all other Ecclesiastical Magistrates, yet he was noted to suffer impatiently any opposition made to himself, and could not well brook any Reformation different from his own; as appears in his disallowance of those made at *Wirtenberg*, in his absence, and in his quarrels with *Carolostadius*; not indeed requiring conformity to his doctrines, out of any authority he claimed to impose them, which authority he renounced; but yet (which is somewhat more) from a certainty of divine truth, which he pretended to be in them; and whilst he refused any obedience given to him as a Magistrate, he seems willingly to have admitted it to him as an Oracle. But yet as he had thrown off the yoke of the Churches authority; so many others, that pursued the Reformation, saw no reason, why they should be subject to his; but took the same liberty to dissent where they pleased, from him, as he had done from the Church; and by the measure he had meted, it was measured to him again. So that within a little time after his revolt there grew, in the Reformation, Sect after Sect, accusing one another of error, as all of them did the Church: Anabaptists, Zuinglians, Antinomians, &c. insomuch that in his Preface to his Comment on the *Gal.* -he saith, himself had encountred above twenty Sects, but (as he fancied) layed them a gasping, and crushed all he grappled with. *Ego* (saith he) *qui jam sum in ministerio Christi viginti annis, quanquam nihil sum, vere possum testari, me plus quam viginti sectis esse petitum*, &c. "In the twenty years I have been a Mini-

'Minister of Christ, *altho I am nothing*, (*2 Cor.* 12. 11.) I can truly 'attest, above twenty Sects have assailed me. And in *Gen. c.* 6. published not long before his Death: —*Quantum Sectarum excitavit Satan nobis viventibus? Quid futurum est nobis mortuis? Profecto tota agmina Sacramentariorum, Anabaptistarum*, &c. 'Satan that has 'rais'd so many Sects while we are alive, what will he do when we 'are dead? Truly whole Swarms of Sacramentarians, Anabaptists, 'Antinomians, Servetians, Campanists, and other Hereticks, (who, 'vanquish'd by the purity of the Gospel, and assiduity of preach-'ing, now lie lurking, and only wait for an opportunity to set up 'their doctrine,) he will then bring out. Again, in *cap.* 24. —Muncerus, *& Sacramentarii, neglecto Verbo & Sacramentis, nihil aliud nisi Spiritum sonant, idq; nobis viventibus, docentibus*, &c. 'The Sacra-'mentaries neglecting the Word and Sacraments talk of nothing 'but the Spirit, and this even whilst we are yet living, preaching a-'gainst, and opposing them: what will they do then, when we 'shall be silenced by the Grave? Again, thus he, concerning the Sacramentarians, in an Epistle to *Fred. Michonius*. —*Habet Sacramentaria Secta jam, ni fallor, sex capita uno anno nata; mirus Spiritus, qui sic dissentiat sibi. Hi omnes Spiritus invicem diversi argutis demicant argumentis* &c. "If I mistake not, six heads of the Sacramen-'tarian Sect have sprung up in one year. A strange spirit, that is 'thus at odds with it self! All these spirits, whereof no two are a-'like, combat one another with subtle arguments. They all pre-'tend revelations, obtain'd by prayers and tears; and yet against 'us they are agreed. It is well for us through Christ, who makes 'them thus wrangle among themselves for our sakes.

§. 23. The 8th. his altering the public Service; Ordaining a new Ministry; abrogating, and burning the former Canon Law.

Upon the same presumtion of his unerring judgment, he by his single authority altered the former publick Liturgy, and reformed the Service of the Mass, (*apud Hosp. fol.* 20.) and remitted the former obligation of Confession of sins to the Priests; and Fasting before receiving the Communion; and generally held in matters of Religion no Ecclesiastical [i.e. *humane*] Laws obliging: (see before §. 19.) —Began a new Ordination of Bishops and Ministers (*vita p.* 129.) descending from him; after having declared their former Unction null, and God's Church to be only that where the Gospel was purely preached; that was his. By the same authority, assisted with the power of the Prince, he made new Bishops, and put them in the places of the deceased. Against the Canonical Election of another, made his intimate friend *Ausdorfe* Bishop of *Neoburg*, (see *Milch. Adam vita p.* 150.) and *Georg. Anhaltinus* Bishop of

Mersburg. By the same Authority he sentenced the Canon-law consisting of the former decrees amassed, as well those of Councils, as those of Popes, to the fire; and assembling the University solemnly burnt it in *Wirtenberg*. (*vita. p.* 115.) By the same he frequently pronounced *Anathema's* and Excommunications to those reformed, that dissented from him in Opinion.

§. 24. n. 1. Instances and testimonies for these. 1. Concerning his certainty of the truth of his own Doctrines.

For the things said here, it is easie to produce a multitude of testimonies. Concerning his presumption of his own not erring, and a fancied certainty and infallibility of his own Doctrines, and Expositions of God's Word, he saith, (see before §. 16.) —*Illum se, aut suam doctrinam, Episcoporum, aut ullius judicio Angeli de Cœlo subjicere non dignari*: 'he scorn'd to submit himself or his Doctrine to 'the judgment of the Bishops, or an Angel from Heaven. And —*Extra aleam positam esse eam omnis humani judicii, sed & omnium Angelorum*: 'past the censure of men or Angels. [*All this only out of a high presumption, that his Exposition of the Scriptures was true, the Churches false*.] And in an Epistle to *Melancthon*, (*Adam. vit. Luth. p.* 138.)—*De publica causa satis magno, & otioso animo sum, qui scio certo, ipsam esse justam*, &c. "Certainly knowing the publick cause [*i.e. his own 'reformed Tenents*] to be just and true, and Christ's and God's, I am 'courageous and unconcern'd enough about it. —The threatnings 'of these bloody Papists I value not a——: if we come to the 'ground, Christ will fall with us. —I had rather fall with Christ, 'than stand with the Emperour. In his answer to the Emperour's Edict, 1531. concerning his way of Justification by Faith alone, opposing the Churches former doctrine in this point: —This Ar'ticle (saith he) will they, nill they, [*the Pope, Emperour*, &c.] will 'stand, Hell-gates cannot prevail against it; the Spirit of God 'doth dictate this unto me, this is the true Gospel, *&c.* —Casting the Pope's Bull, the Canon-law, and the writings of his Adversaries into the publick fire in *Wirtenberg*, he used this insolent speech, joyned with that insolent act: (*vit. Luth. Adams p.* 115.) —*Quia tu conturbasti Sanctum Domini, conturbet te ignis æternus*: 'because 'thou hast disturbed the Holy of the Lord, get thee into eternal flames. —And upon *Gal.* 1. 11. 12. he thus answers an Objection made against the newness of his Doctrine taught, contrary to that of the former Church, by so inconsiderable a person; which answer, because it seems to contain all the defence he could make for himself, I will set you down at large.

§. 24. First,

First then he frames this Objection, as made by the false Apostles against St. *Paul*, sitting the application thereof to himself. §. 24. n. 2.
—*Quod* Paulus *longe inferior esset reliquis Apostolorum Discipulis, qui, quod docerent, & servarent, acceperant ab Apostolis. —Cur igitur inferiori velient obtemperare, & authoritatem ipsorum Apostolorum, qui Doctores essent omnium Ecclesiarum totius orbis terrarum, contemnere? Valde igitur (*saith he*) speciosum, et robustum hoc argumentum Pseudo-Apostolorum fuit*; &c. "*Paul* being much inferior to the other 'Disciples of the Apostles, who had received from the very Apo-'stles what they did and taught; —why therefore should they o-'bey him that was inferior, and despise the authority of the Apo-'stles themselves, who were constituted Masters of all the Churches 'in the world? This then (*saith he*) was the specious and great 'Argument of the false Apostles, which even now adays retains its 'force with many. What! say they, the Apostles, the Holy Fa-'thers, and their Successors, have taught so, and so; the whole 'Church judgeth so, and believeth so, and tis impossible for Christ 'to permit his Church to err for so many ages. And do you now 'pretend to be wiser than so many holy men, then the whole 'Church *&c*? Thus it is, that the Devil transforming himself into 'an Angel of light, treacherously sets upon me by the virulent 'tongues of certain Hypocrites: We stand not much upon, say 'they, either Pope, or Bishops. —Nay we detest the hypocrisy 'and impostures of Monks *&c*. But we cannot in the least suf-'fer the authority of the most holy Catholick Church to be in-'fringed. There are so many ages now, that she has constantly 'judged so, and taught so; all the Doctors of the Primitive Church, 'most holy men, much greater and more learned than you, have 'still judged and taught the same. And who now are you, that 'dare depart from all these, and force upon us different tenents? His answer to this is: *Quando Satanas hoc urget, & conspirat cum carne & ratione, perterrefit Conscientia, et desperat, nisi constanter ad te redeas, et dicas*; *Sive Sanctus*. Cyprianus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, *sive Sanctus* Petrus, Paulus, *aut* Johannes, *imo Angelus de Cœlo aliter doceat, tamen hoc* certe scio *quod humana non suadeo, sed divina; hoc est, quod Deo omnia tribuo, hominibus nihil. Memini initio meæ causæ Doctorem* Staupitium *tunc summum virum, & Vicarium Ordinis* Augustini *ad me dicere: Hoc mihi, inquit, placet, quod hæc doctrina, quam prædicas, gloriam, & omnia soli Deo, tribuit, hominibus nihil. Deo autem (id quod luce clarius est) nimium gloriæ, bonitatis*, &c. *attribui non potest. Hæc vox vehementer me tum consolabatur, et confirmabat.—Multo autem tutius est tribuere nimium Deo, quam hominibus. Ibi enim cum fiducia*

dicere possum; Esto sane, Ecclesia, Augustinus, *& alii Doctores, item* Petrus *Apostolus, imo Angelus de Cœlo diversum doceant, tamen mea doctrina est ejusmodi, quod solius Dei gratiam*, &c. 'When Satan 'urgeth thus, and conspires with flesh and reason against us, our 'conscience is troubled, and will certainly despair, unless we re-'solutely stir up our selves, and say, tho St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambrose*, St. '*Augustin*, tho St. *Peter*, *Paul*, and *John*, yea an Angel from Hea-'ven teach the contrary, yet this *I certainly know*, that the things I 'propose, are not humane but divine, *i. e.* I attribute all to God, 'and nothing to men. I remember well what Dr. *Staupitius*, a 'prime man then, and Vicar of St. *Augustin's* Order, told me in the 'beginning of my preaching: I like well, said he, that this Do-'ctrine you teach, gives glory, and indeed all things to God, and 'nothing to men; for who sees not, that too much honour, good-'ness, &c can never be attributed to God? These words of his 'comforted and strengthned me extreamly; —Much safer it is to 'give too much to God, than men. For then I may boldly say, 'let the Church, and St. *Augustin*, with the rest of the Doctors, let 'St *Peter* the Apostle, nay an Angel from Heaven teach other-'ways, yet certain it is, that my Doctrine [*of Justification by 'faith alone without our works*] is of that nature, that it illustrates 'and extolls the grace and glory of God alone, and condemns [*in 'the matter of salvation*] whatsoever wisdom and righteousness of 'men. Here I cannot be mistaken &c. A *second* time he renews the Objection; *At ais; Ecclesia est sancta, Patres sunt sancti*, 'But "you tell me, the Church is holy, the Fathers are holy: and an-swers it thus; *Bene; sed Ecclesia, qnamlibet sancta, tamen cogetur orare*, Remitte nobis debita nostra. —*Ergo neq; mihi, neq; Ecclesiæ, neq; Patribus, neq; Apostolis, neq; Angelo e cœlo credendum est, si quid contra verbum Dei docemus.* —*Alioquin hoc argumentum Pseudo-apostolorum maxime valuisset contra* Pauli *Doctrinam. Quia profecto magna, magna, inquam, res fuit, opponere totam Ecclesiam cum toto choro Apostolorum*, Galatis, *contra* Paulum *unicum, & eum recentiorem, & minimum authoritatis habentem: nec enim libenter dicit, Ecclesiam errare; & tamen necesse est dicere, eam errare, si extra vel contra verbum Dei aliquid docet.* Petrus *Apostolorum summus vivebat, et* docebat *extra verbum Dei*, &c. 'Well, but tho the Church be never so holy, yet 'she is fain to pray, *forgive us our trespasses.* —Therefore there is no 'believing either me, or the Church, or the Fathers, or Apostles, or 'an Angel from Heaven, if we teach any thing against God's 'Word. Otherways this argument of the false Apostles would 'have run down St. *Paul's* doctrine. For, believe me, to the *Ga-*

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'*latians*, it was no ſmall difficulty to oppoſe the whole Church 'with all the Apoſtles, againſt St. *Paul* alone, and him the lateſt, 'and of leaſt authority amongſt 'em. —Neither was he willing to 'ſay, the Church erred; yet tis neceſſary to ſay ſhe errs, if ſhe 'teaches any thing beſides, or againſt the word of God. *Peter* the 'chief of the Apoſtles did live, and *teach* otherways than he ought 'by the word of God, therefore he erred. [*Taught* and *erred*, falſe; '*his Example, not Doctrine, was falſe.*] Neither did *Paul* then con- 'nive at his *error*, (tho it appeared ſlight,) becauſe he well ſaw the 'evil, that might thence ariſe to the whole Church. —Therefore 'neither Church, nor Fathers, nor Apoſtles, nor Angels are to be 'believed, unleſs they teach the pure Word of God. Yet ſtill the Objection will not be thus ſatisfied, but returns on him again. *Hoc argumentum* (ſaith he) *et hodie maxime prægravat cauſam noſtram. Nam ſi neq; Papæ, neq; Patribus, neq;* Luthero, &c. *credendum eſt, niſi doceant purum Dei verbum, cui tum credendum eſt? Quis interim certas faciet Conſcientias, utri purum Dei verbum doceant; nos, an adverſarii noſtri? Non et ipſi jactant, ſe purum Dei verbum habere, et docere? Nos Papiſtis non credimus, quia verbum Dei non docent, neq; docere poſſunt. Econtra ipſi acerrime nos oderunt, et inſectantur, ut peſtilentiſſimos Hæreticos, et ſeductores. Quid hic faciendum? Num cuivis fanatico ſpiritui permittendum, ut doceat quæ velit*; &c. "—This 'argument, *ſaith he*, even at this preſent time does much moleſt our 'party. For if we muſt neither believe Pope, nor Fathers, nor *Luther*, &c. unleſs they teach the pure word of God, who then ſhall 'we believe? who will be able to aſſure our hearers, whether I, 'or rather my adverſaries ſtick to the pure word of God? for doe 'not they alſo boaſt that they have, and teach it? We reject the 'Papiſts, becauſe they neither do, nor can, teach the pure word of 'God: and they on the other ſide mortally hate, and perſecute us 'as peſtilential Hereticks, and ſeducers. What can be done in 'this caſe? Muſt every fanatical ſpirit be licens'd to teach what he 'pleaſes; whereas the world can neither hear nor endure my do- 'ctrine [*any better than theirs.*] —For tho we openly profeſs with 'P*aul*, that we preach the pure Goſpel of Chriſt, it avails us no- 'thing; and we are forced to hear that this profeſſion of ours, is not 'only proud, temerarious, and vain, but blaſphemous alſo, and dia- 'bolical; on the other ſide to ſubmit our ſelves, and yeild to the 'fury of our enemies, is to make both Papiſts and Fanaticks grow 'proud and inſolent: theſe, by bringing up and teaching, what 'the world never heard before; thoſe, by obtruding again and 'confirming their old abominations. To this again he briefly re-

plies:

plies: —*Quisque igitur videat, ut certissimus sit de sua vocatione, & doctrina, ut cum Apostolo certissime, ac securissime ausit dicere; Etiamsi vos aut Angelus e Cælo* &c. "–Let every one therefore take great 'care to be most certain and secure of his vocation and doctrine, [*alluding to what the Apostle saith, Gal.* 1. 8,15.] that with all se-'curity he may venture to say with the Apostle, *Tho an Angel from heaven* &c. The summe of which triple Reply is agreeable to our former observation: —*Certissimus sum de mea vocatione & doctrina:* "I am most certain of my vocation and doctrine. And —*Hoc certe scio, quod humana non suadeo, sed divina*; "This I certainly know, 'that the things I teach, are not humane, but divine: and the applying to himself against the Fathers, the answer of St. *Paul* against St. *Peter*, and others, —*Etiamsi vos aut Angelus de Cælo* &c. "Tho an Angel from Heaven *&c.* as if like this Apostle he also had some extraordinary calling to his Ministery; or, as if his opinions were like his faith; that being assured of their truth, makes them truth.

§. 24. n. 3. Of those also that he maintained against other Reformed.

And this presumptive certainty, and plerophory this man had, not only of those tenents of his maintained against the Papists, but in those also maintained against any other Reformed. In his greater *Confession* answered by *Zuinglius*, wherein he maintains Consubstantiation, he saith: *Si incertus, & obscurus contextus, & sensus omnino habendus; illum potius habere velim, quem ex Dei ore progressum certe scio:* 'If it be necessary to have some context or sense 'that is obscure, above all others let me have that, which I am cer-'tain comes out of God's mouth. The Landgrave of *Hasse* calling the Assembly at *Marpurg* of the *Saxon* and *Helvetian* reformed Divines, chiefly inviting *Luther* to it, he returns this answer; *Nihil fructus ex Colloquio sperandum, nisi pars adversa accedat animo cedendi: siquidem cedere ipsis non posse, qui certus sit de Verbi sententia*: 'There 'is no good to be hoped of any meeting, unless my adversaries 'come with a mind prepared to yeild: for tis impossible for me to 'yeild to them, being most certain of the sense of the word, [i.e. *of his Consubstantiation.* [*Here I cannot but put him in mind of an Observation he makes* (Colloquio c. 35. p. 352.) *of some other Sectaries of his time, with whom he had much bickering*: 'who (he saith) were so 'spiritually bewitched by the Devil, that they were so far from 'confessing and acknowledging their Errors, that they freely boast-'ed, yea would not stick deeply to swear, that they have the most 'assured truth. And when some of them be confuted by many sen-'tences of Holy Scripture, (especially those that are the chief, and

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'ring-leaders of ſuch Hereſies): yet all labour is loſt; for they 'quickly have their gloſſes, wherewith they make babling and idle 'Oppoſitions againſt the ſentences of Scripture; inſomuch that by 'our admonitions they are not only nothing bettered, but are the 'longer, the worſe obdurate, and hardned. This (*ſaith Luther*) 'ſhould I never have believed, (that the Devil in ſuch ſort could 'trim up his lies, and make them ſo like unto the truth,) if the o-'pen experience of theſe times had not delivered the ſame unto 'me. *Alas! what he ſaw in others, why feared he not in himſelf, ſtragling from the Church?*

Caroloſtadius, upon ſome provocation of ill language, taxing ſomething in his doctrine concerning the Euchariſt, as they were together in an Inn; he preſently grew ſo hot, and impatient, that he challenged him to a publick Encounter of writing one againſt another; and the other deſiring to have this controverſy rather privately compoſed; He, too confident of the victory, in a war that hath laſted ever ſince amongſt the Reformed, and divided them into *two* bands even untill this day, further obliged his adverſary to it, by delivering to him a Crown of Gold, as a gage of the quarrel. —*Ex concitato iſto animi fervore* (ſaith *Hoſpinian Hiſt. Sacram.* 2. *part. fo.* 32.) *aureum nummum extractum ex pera ipſi* [Caroloſtadio] *offert* [Lutherus], *inquiens*; *En accipe, & quantum potes animoſe, contra me dimica. Quod etſi recuſaret primum* Caroloſtadius, *& rem cognitioni piæ permittendam moneret, ac peteret; tandem tamen cum urgeretur, hunc aureum nummum accepit, & marſupio ſuo recondidit;* Luthero *manum in ſponſionem pactæ & ſuſceptæ Contentionis porrigens: pro cujus Confirmatione* Lutherus *ipſi viciſſim hauſtum vini propinavit*, &c. —'In the heat of his paſſion he [*Luther*] 'pulled out of his purſe a Crown of Gold, and offering it to the o-'ther, [*Caroloſtadius*,] Here, take this, *ſays he*, and do thy worſt 'againſt me. And altho *Caroloſtadius* ſtood off at firſt, and deſired, 'and asked him to conſider a little better on it, yet at laſt being 'more provoked, he took the gold, and put it up, and gave *Luther* 'his hand, to ſhew he accepted the challenge, which *Luther* for his 'part ratified with a glaſs of wine. And —*Hæc, Chriſtiane Lector, fuerunt infeliciſſimi iſtius certaminis, quod ex pacto & ſponſione ſuſceptum, tot jam annis Eccleſiam graviſſime exercuit, infauſta auſpicia: quæ ſi quis diligenter, apud ſe animo, ſepoſitis affectibus, expendat ex quo ſpiritu fuerint profecta, tanto rectius & æquius, non ſolum de toto hoc certamine, ſed etiam de Polemicis* Lutheri *ſcriptis, in quibus, quod ſemel in invidiam* Caroloſtadii, *& adverſariorum ſuorum odio defendendum ſuſce-*

§. 24. n. 4.

susceperat, quoquo modo asserere, & tueri, quam cuiquam opinione sua cessisse videre maluit, est judicaturus. &c. "These were, Christian 'Reader, *(as* Hospinian *goes on)* the unhappy beginnings of that 'unfortunate contention and strife, which undertaken by pact and 'agreement, has now for so many years grievously torn our 'Church: which things whosoever, setting all biassed affections 'aside, shall seriously ponder from what spirit they came, shall be 'much better thereby able to judge, not only of this whole quarrel, 'but also of *Luther's* other Polemical writings; in which whatsoe-'ver he has once set down to the prejudice of *Carolostadius*, or other 'adversaries, he shall find him defend, and hold it, any way rather 'than to seem in the least to yeild to any. Neither will he here-'after much admire (such is the lamentable state of humane frail-'ty) why *Luther* appeared so vehement, and upon occasions so va-'rious and changeable, in this his affected passion for contention 'and victory. [*Prosecuting more eagerly the conquest of his Enemy, 'than the discovery of Truth.*]

§. 25. 2d. Concerning his censuring & condemning those of the other reformed opposing him.

For his censuring and condemning such other reformed doctrines as were contrary to his own, as freely as the Roman, pronouncing them Heretical, and upon this, removing them from his Communion, as fathering also on the Devil whatever opinions differed from his, and making especially all his Protestant adversaries Sathanized, Super-sathanized, and throughly possessed by him; and amongst other ill names, frequently also calling them Devils: See what *Oecolampadius* writeth concerning this to his friend *Zuinglius*, (*Ep. ante respons. ad Luth. Confess.*) —*Suavissima* (saith he) *amicissimaque, si non etiam frequentissima, sunt* Suermeri, Nebulones, Dæmones, *& alia hujus generis quamplurima, quæ, quam infirma sit humanæ naturæ conditio, nos erudire debent*: 'His most 'sweet and friendly terms, or at least most frequent, are *Suermers*, '*Knaves, Devils*, and other such like, which must be a document 'to us of the infirmity of humane nature. Neither did ever any yet, I think, in his invectives and reproaches use this word so much as he hath done, boldly pronouncing also of *Oecolampadius*, and other adversaries of his, whom, he heard, died suddenly, that *they were strangled by the Devil.* (See below §. 32.) See his answer *ad Argentinenses.* —*Respondere non posse, si damnare non liceat*; 'that 'twas in vain for him to answer, without they would give him 'leave to condemn. And—*Alterutros esse Satanæ ministros, vel ipsos, vel se*; 'that either they [*the Zuinglian Divines*] were the ministers of 'Sathan, or he himself [*Luther.*] And elsewhere, (—*Liber contra Sacra-*

Sacramentarios.) *Hæreticos serio censemus, & alienos ab Ecclesia Dei* Zuinglianos, *&c.* "We do without all question judge the *Zuin-* 'glians to be Hereticks, and aliens from the Church of God, *&c.* And—*Quicunque credere nolit, in Eucharistia panem (post verba Consecrationis) esse verum, & naturale Christi Corpus, is a me abstineat Epistolis, scriptis, vel sermone, neque ullam meam expectet communionem*: "whosoever does not believe that the bread in the Eucha- 'rist (after the words of Consecration) is the true and natural bo- 'dy of Christ, let him never dare to write or speak to me, nor ex- 'pect in any way to communicate with me. And in his *Confessio parva*, he saith, —*se nullius fanatici, (sive is sit* Stenkfeldius, *sive* Zuinglius, *sive* Carolostadius, *sive* Oecolampadius, *sive quisquam alius hæreticus* ἀρτόφαγος, οἰνοπότης) *hoc est, Christi hostis, & blasphemi, consortium recipere, nec literas, libros, salutationes, benedictiones, scriptiones, aut nominationem, intra animi sui penetralia admittere, nec visu vel auditu dignari, decrevisse*: 'That he will neither keep company 'with any Fanatick, (whether it be *Stenfeldius*, or *Zuinglius*, or 'Carolostadius, or *Oecolampadius*, or whatsoever other Heretick, 'ἀρτόφαγος, οἰνοπότης, i.e. *bread-eater, winedrinker*,) that is, with any 'enemy of Christ, and blasphemous person, nor receive either let- 'ters, books, salutations, benedictions, or writings from them, nor 'even name them, or vouchsafe so much as to hear or see them. *Ib. Neminem pro illis orare posse, peccare enim eos ad mortem*: "that none 'can pray for them, because they sin unto death. Ib. —*Malle centies discerpi, vel comburi, quam illorum doctrinæ consentire*: 'that he had 'rather a thousand times be torn in pieces, and burnt, than assent 'to their doctrine. —And—*Hoc testimonium, hancque gloriam ad Tribunal Jesu Christi secum allaturum, quod* Suermerus, *Sacramentorum hostes*, Carolostadium, Zuinglium, Oecolampadium, Stenkfeldium, *eorumq; discipulos*, Tiguri, *& ubicunque sint, toto pectore damnarit atque vitarit*: 'that he would carry this testimony and glory 'along with him to the Tribunal of Christ, that with all his might 'and main he had condemned and avoided the *Suermers*, enemies 'of the Sacraments, as also *Carolostadius*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, 'Stenkfeldius, and their disciples, whether at *Zurich*, or wherese- 'ver else they be. And concludes his *major Confession* with a Protestation; 'That if at any time hereafter, I shall say or write o- 'therwise than now I hold in this my *Confession*, (especially about 'the Sacrament,) it is false, and comes from the Devil. He is said also in his later time, perceiving some variety of opinion, especially by *Melancthon's* indifferency, to begin to spread it self at *Wirtenberg*, to have mediated a prescribed form of doctrine, (tho contrary to his

former principles,) in which, *ſiquis aliter quam ipſe ſentiret*, Wirtenbergæ *non duraturum*; 'if any ſhould be of a contrary opinion to 'him, he ſhould not ſtay at *Wirtenberg*. Upon which foreſeen by *Melanchthon* he writes thus to *Calvin*: —*Totos jam annos viginti expecto exilia, propterea quod oſtendi me* ἀρτολατείαν *non probaſſe*: 'Every day 'for this twenty years have I expected to be baniſhed, for ſhewing 'a diſlike to ἀρτολατεία, *i. e.* Bread-worſhip. [*He means of the Lutheran party.*] (See *Hoſpinian. fol.* 193. *&c.* and 249. And all this he ſaith chiefly in oppoſition of or to *Calvin's* way of Real preſence; how orthodoxly, how certainly, let *Calvin's* followers judge; and by this judge of the certainty of his other doctrines alſo, ſo authoritatively maintained by him againſt the former Catholick Church of God.

§.26. Where alſo of their reciprocal Cenſures of him for it.

Therefore for this great fault of ſelf-pleaſing, and confidence in his own opinions, and expoſitions of Scripture (when, as they ſay, he moſt groſly erred); and for the frequent contradictions obſerved in his former, and later writings, inconſiſtent with ſuch certainty, yet which he always pretended, as much in his firſt (till theſe recanted), as in his laſt, Tenents; as likewiſe for the varying of his doctrine according to his adverſary; expounding Scripture a contrary way, as he had occaſion to make uſe thereof againſt the Church of *Rome*, or againſt his anti-ſects Reformed; of which ſee many inſtances in *Hoſpinian, f.* 8. &c: I ſay, for all theſe, he hath not eſcaped a heavy cenſure even of his brethren, when they fouud themſelves to ſuffer from ſuch his exorbitances. Thus ſpeak of him the *Tigurine* Divines in their Confeſſion: *Proprii cerebri figmenta uſque adeo illi placent, ut quotquot illa, haud ſecus ac Dei Oracula, & Revelationes, non recipiunt, pro aſinis habet, & nihil intelligere putet*: 'He dotes ſo far upon the fictions of his own brain, that he takes for 'meer fools and aſſes, all thoſe, who receive them not as Oracles 'and divine Revelations. And again, —*In omnibus Correptionibus ſuis plurimum maligni ſpiritus, quam minimum vero amici, & paterni animi deprehenditur*: 'In his reprehenſions you may frequently find 'marks of a malign ſpirit, but little or nothing of a friendly and 'fatherly affection. And thus *Conradus Geſnerus* in his *Bibliotheca*: —*Illud non eſt diſſimulandum virum eſſe* Lutherum *vehementis ingenii, impatientem, & qui, niſi per omnia ſibi conſentientes, ferre neſciat*: 'It cannot be conceal'd, that *Luther* is a man of a vehement ſpirit, 'impatient, and of ſuch a humour, as can indure none but thoſe 'who ſide with him in all things. —And thus *Zuinglius, in reſp. ad lib. Luther. de Sacrament.* as to Proteſtant Controverſies, accuſeth

Luther's

Luther's new Expositions of Scriptures, for as erroneous as confident. —*Tu leges fingis, juxta quarum Præscriptum Scripturæ sanctæ intelligi debeant, quas alioquin in tuo sensu minus tueri ac asserere potes. Eas Traditiones præscribis, quæ Dei verbum nusquam tradidit; nec traditas quoque ullo modo admittere, aut ferre potest*: You frame laws to 'your self for the understanding of the Scriptures, which other-'ways you would not be able to assert, and abett, in the sense you 'would have them. You prescribe such Traditions, as never were 'delivered by the word of God, nor can be suffer'd or admitted by it. And again in his answer to *Luther's Confessio magna, p.* 478. *En* (saith he) *ut totum istum hominem Sathan occupare conetur? cum in verborum sensu misere fallitur, & errat, Dei est, ut ipsum excuset, & pro ipso satisfaciat*: 'Behold (*saith he*) how wholly Sathan has possess'd that 'man! when he grosly mistakes the sense of the words, no less 'than God must be brought upon the Stage, to make the excuse, and 'satisfy for him. Again, —*Clandestinum quoddam effugium sibi hoc modo præparare conatur, hoc videlicet; Si seductus aut falsus sum, Deus me seduxit, & fefellit, nam hujus verbo me totum commiseram.* &c. "A 'secret refuge upon occasions he thus prepares for himself; If I am 'seduced, says he, if I am deceived, God has seduced me, God has 'deceived me, for to his word alone I gave my self over. And in 'the mean time he does not consider, that the very Pope of *Rome*, 'and all other Hereticks may say the same. *&c.* And again, —*Non ex verbis modo, quæ non alia arma, quibus se defendat, quam convitia, probra, & immites increpationes continent, verum etiam ex ipsis sententiis, & violenta Scripturarum tractatione, ipsum non aliquo Fundamento vere solido inniti videre liceat. Tot enim sententias absurdas*, &c. 'You may gather, not only out of his words, which have no force 'in them, besides strong calumnies, and merciless reprehensions; 'but also out of his citations, and perverse using of Scripture, that 'he is not grounded upon any solid foundation. For he brings so 'many weak and absurd sentences to confirm his doctrine, that if 'they were true and infallible, all the knowledg we have of God 'would become obscure, all the authority of Scripture would be 'called in question.

§. 27. 3. Concerning the instability of his doctrine.

Concerning the instability and fluctuation of his doctrine, notwithstanding that whatever he held for the present of that he was most certainly assured, thus *Hospinian Histor. Sacram. parte altera fol.* 4. —*Per totam vitam tam varius, & sibi dissimilis fuit in Articulo de persona Christi, præsertim autem de sacra ejus Cœna, ut minimum quinq; sententiæ de illa in scriptis ipsius reperiantur*: 'through his

'whole life he was so various, and contrary to himself in that Arti-
'cle concerning the person of Christ, especially touching his last Sup-
'per, that you may see in his writings at least five different opinions
about it. And *fo.* 12. *Eadem varietas, & inconstantia, & crebra tanquam tempestatum, sic sententiarum commutatio, in aliis quoque de Sacramento Eucharistiæ articulis, apud* Lutherum, *in suis scriptis invenitur*: 'The same variety and inconstancy, and change of do-
'ctrines, as of the winds, may be found in *Luther's* other writings,
'concerning other articles of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. So
fol. 8,9. he observes, that he persecutes those Expositions of our
Lord's words, *Jo.* 6. —*Caro non prodest quidquam*, 'the flesh avails
nothing; and of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 10. –*Panis quem frangimus*, 'the
'bread which we break; when these brought against him by his
Reformed adversaries, *Carlostade*, and *Zuinglius*, which himself
formerly gave against the Papists: —and so he observes *fo.* 12.
–that when he was in contention with the Sacramentaries, –*tanto impetu ab illis, quibus indignabatur, deflexit; ut rursus, ad ipsam usque Transubstantiationem, quam sub Papatu approbarat, postea de ea dubitarat, tandem abjecerat, tanquam fluctus marinus ad scopulos allisus, revolveretur. Cum autem urgebatur* &c. *Corporis Christi, tum demum, potius quam se victum fateretur, in mediam paludem ubiquitariam se præcipitem dabat*: 'from those he was incensed against, he flung away
'with that violence, that he even cast himself again upon Tran-
'substantiation; which, when a Papist, he had approved, afterwards
'called in question, and lastly thrown away, tossed thus to and
'fro, like the waves of the Sea, rolling to, and dashed from the
'rocks. And again, when he was urged with *Christ's body* &c.
'rather than seem overcome he would cast himself headlong into
'the abyss of the Ubiquitarians. –The same thing *Zuinglius* complains of in his Preface to his answer to *Luther*'s *Confession*. –*Contentionis æstu eo se abripi patitur; ut ea, quæ ante pie simul, & bene tradita ab ipso sunt, potius subvertere velit & negare, quam ab instituto suo vel latum unguem cedere*: 'He suffers himself to be so carried a-
'way with the spirit of contention, that rather than yeild a hairs
'breadth, he would deny and subvert what he had well and piously
'established before. This from §. 21. of *Luther*'s great confidence or certainty in his own opinions, attempting upon it such bold Reformations; and of his violent condemning of all Adversaries and Anti-doctrines whatever; and of the small reason which his own fellow-Reformers conceived he had for either of these.

§. 28. From

From this Self-presumption of his also is discovered in all his writings that *–amaritudo, ira, indignatio, clamor,* mentioned by the Apostle, *Eph.* 4. 31. a most strange, quarrelsom, reviling stile, fierce and impatient of any coercion, or contradiction; not sparing his Spiritual Mother the Church that brought him forth; nor his Spiritual Fathers that made him a Christian, a Priest. He the first that so openly pronounced the present Catholick Church the Whore of *Babylon*; and the Bishop of *Rome* the prime Patriarch therein, Antichrist; the Bishops, Antichrist's Apostles; the Universities, Stews. See the railings of his Book entitled, —*Contra falso-nominatum Ordinem Episcoporum.* Not sparing the Supream Civil Magistrates; not Kings. See the Railings of his book written against *Hen. 8th* not sparing his younger brethren of the Reformation, and his own disciples, when they modestly taking that liberty in some things to dissent again from him, which himself formerly had taken to dissent from the whole Church-Catholick; and excepting their difference in judgment as to some points, otherwise by all possible means courting his friendship. See the Railings of his *Confessio magna,* and *parva,* written against them. –Above all not sparing his brethren the Religious, into whose bosom and education very pious (if we may believe himself) he was so charitably received in his youth. In whom notwithstanding he censures, and every where declames against, actions and works externally good, as their fastings, watchings, Single life, strict obedience to their Superiours commands, often reiterated prayers, *&c.* as done out of hypocrisy, with much inward *–diffidentia, dubitatione, pavore, odio, & blasphemia Dei,* [to use his own words, *and this because they wanted his new faith*]; done with an intention of meriting their salvation by them, and not expecting, as the Remission of their other sins, so of the imperfections of these very works through Christ's passion, and merits: their Celibacy, as lived-in with all uncleanness of spirit, (tho he confessed his own, when a Monk, void of any such stain); their prayers, as said or repeated by rote without any inward attention of mind accompanying them: things, of which he could have no knowledge, and out of charity ought to have judged the contrary; or if by some outward circumstances he might discover the intentions of some, yet from this could have no sufficient ground to charge all, and to inveigh, as he doth at a Monastick life in general upon this score, that their good works yet were not well or rightly done by them.

§ 29. Fer

§ 29. Pride, Contrariness, and railing spirit discovered in all his Controversy writings.

§.29. For this great fault when much reproached by his Enemies, and often admonished by his friends, instead of amending it, sometimes he justified it, by the example of our Lord, calling the Jews *an adulterous generation*, a generation of *vipers, children of the Devil*; and of St. *Paul* calling his Adversaries, *Dogs, foolish talkers, seducers, unlearned*; *imo qui* (saith he) *Act.* 13. 9,10. *sic invehatur in Pseudoprophetam, ut videri possit insanus*: 'So sharply enveighs he against 'the false Prophet, *Act.* 13. 9, 10. that one would think him mad. *vid. Melch. Adams vit. Luther. p.* 191. and –*opera Luth. tom.* 1. *Ep. p.* 291. [That is, *a private* Presbyter, *when reproaching all his Superiours and Governours, the Bishops and Fathers of the Church, justifying it by the Lord of heaven and earth, and who seeth hearts, his reproving his rebellious subjects, the incorrigible and blaspheming Pharisees; and by the great Apostle full of the Holy Ghost* (as it is in the same verse he quotes) *denouncing God's judgment against a* Conjurer *blaspheming the Gospel of Christ*; *as if when only he can shew that such words are used, it mattered not, by, or to whom.*] Sometimes again he lays the blame of his choler on those who, he saith, provoked him to it. *Non negare possum* (saith he) *me esse vehementiorem quam oportuit, quod cum illi non ignorant, sane irritare non debuerunt*: 'That I am too passionate 'I cannot deny, and they know very well; and so ought not to have 'provoked me. Sometimes also he pretends a profitable design of such his passion; for (saith he) —*quæ quiete dicuntur, cito cadunt in oblivionem, nemine illa curante.* (See *Adam. vit. Luth.*) endeavouring, it seems, to add weight to his words by personal Invectives, as others by Oaths. Add to this, that the fault is not observed in his latter time to have decreased in him, but to have grown with his age; and his last writings to have bin most violent, and passionate, (as his *Confessio parva*, written but a little before his death,) tho against those, whom his friends thought of all dissenters from him the most innocent, that is *Zuinglius, Bucer's*, and *Calvin's* party. So when by the importunity of his friends he had written three or four submissive letters; one to *Henry the 8th*, (after that his bitter book written against him); and another to *George* Duke of *Saxony*; another to Cardinal *Cajetan*; and a fourth to *Erasmus*; these only instead of his other contumelious writings, he is said to have repented of, as doing some prejudice to a just cause. *Adam. vit. Luth. p.* 132.

§.30. Some Instances thereof. If you would taste a little the maledicency and bitterness of this man's spirit, (which those who do not examin can hardly believe) do but look into those two books of his, which of all other one would

would think he ſhould have written with moſt reſpect; that *Contra Henricum Regem Angliæ*; becauſe a King; and that againſt *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, and *Bucer's* party, his *Confeſſio parva*; becauſe theſe his brethren reformed: the latter alſo written when now his blood was chill, and cold. In one ſingle leaf of his former book, taken at adventure, *fol.* 338. *edit. Wirtenb*, 1562. I find all this railing ſtuff againſt that Learned Prince. —*Elinguis defenſor, linguax in nugis.* –*Rex pro ſuo more ſatis fortiter mentitur.* –*Rudis & indoctus Laicus.* –*Cum obſtinata, & impudenti nequitia* Henrici *agendum.* –*Non hic mentitur modo, ſicut ſcurra leviſſimus; ſed nunc audet, nunc fingit, &c. ut nequiſſimum nebulonem ſi non ſuperat, certe egregie æquat.* –*Quod virulentum & nequam hunc* Thomiſtam *ſenſiſſe hoc argumento quod* &c. —*Nihil poteſt pro ingenio ſuo niſi perpetuo mentiri, fallere, ſimulare, illudere.* —*Revelemus ſceleratam hanc, & Regiam nequitiam.* —*Larvatus Thomiſta* Anglorum. —*Non in animo ejus ſcintilla boni viri.* --*Sophiſtica malitia, & impudentia, quæ de induſtria adverſus cognitam veritatem inſanit.* —*Plane vas Electionis iſte eſt Satanæ.* —*Totus ſuus blaſphemus & ſacrilegus libellus.* —*Cavendus ut ſentina mortis.* &c. 'Jejune Defender of the Faith, copious upon a tri-'fle. --The King, as his manner is, lies ſtoutly enough. --A rude and 'ignorant Laic' ---We have to do with *Henry*'s obſtinate and im-'pudent knavery. ---Here he not only lies like a whiffling buffoon, 'but ſometimes he is bold and daring; ſometimes he feigns, &c. 'inſomuch as he fairly matches, if not outdoes the greateſt villains. '—That this virulent raſcal of a Thomiſt was of this opinion, I 'have this argument for it &c. --His only talent is in perpetual 'lying, deceit, counterfeiting, buffoonery. ---Let us unmask this 'wicked and truely Princely knavery. ---*England's* Thomiſt in 'diſguiſe. ---Not one dram of an honeſt man in him. ---Malici-'ous Sophiſtry and impudence, thus to ſet himſelf to rave againſt 'the known truth. ---Certainly this man is a choſen veſſel of the 'Devil. ---His little book top-full of ſacrilege, and malice. ---To 'be ſhun'd as the ſink of death. —Not miſtake but meer knavery, 'and inveterate malice, bent upon lying and blaſphemy. This is the extract of his raging choler in one leaf taken caſually. How much is there in the book? Now you may be pleas'd to call to mind his Rule, ---*Quæ quiete tractantur* &c. and joyn another with it, *Calumniare fortiter, aliquid hærebit.*

Concerning the other book I mentioned, his *Confeſſio parva*, thus heavily complain the *Tigurine* Divines, in the Preface of their *Apology* written upon it; *Libellus hic tanta Diabolorum atque ſelectiſsimorum,* §. 31. n. 1.

rum, & a Christiana fide imprimis abhorrentium convitiorum copia scatet, tanta verborum immodestia, fœditate, & impuritate turget, tanto denique iracundiæ, maledicentiæ, furoris, & insaniæ impetu furit, ut quotquot illum legere dignantur, (modo non ipsi quoque cum illo insanire cœperint,) non sine gravi animorum stupore, infelix hoc, & inauditum hactenus exemplum admirari coguntur: &c. 'So fraught is this 'little book with nick-names, as Devil *&c.* and other unchristian 'terms of reproach, pickt out of the choicest Authors; so cramm'd 'with lewd, nasty, ribaldry-stuff; nay so ranting and thundering 'with anger, maledicency, fury, and madness; that none (that is 'not as craz'd as *Luther* himself) can read it without great admi-'ration and astonishment at so unfortunate and unheard of an ex-'ample: To see so great a man in his old age, after having been 'inur'd and taught by long experience, and with many still in 'great esteem, yet so hurried away and transported with unruly 'passions, and that in so unseemly manner, as to render himself vile 'and contemptible to all sober men. Elsewhere thus they (*respons. ad Luth. cont. Zuingl.*) censure his great Pride. *Prophetæ & Apostoli Dei gloriæ, non privato honori, non suæ pertinaciæ, & superbiæ studebant*: Lutherus *autem sua quærit, pertinax est, insolentia nimia effertur; & in omnibus correptionibus suis plurimum maligni spiritus &c. deprehenditur*: 'The Prophets and Apostles studied the glory of 'God, not their own honour, pride, and obstinacy: but *Luther* seeks 1
'his own, is pertinacious, and too too insolent; and in all his cor-'reptions there is much of the evil spirit, *&c.* And another *Zuinglian* (*Conradus Rheg. contra Hessum, de cœna Domini,*) saith, that —*Deus propter peccatum superbiæ, qua sese* Lutherus *extulit, quem, admodum pleraque ejus scripta testificantur, verum illi spiritum abstulit, ut Prophetis illis* 3 *Reg.* 22. *atque ejus loco iracundum, fastuosum, atque mendacem spiritum dedit*: 'God for *Luther's* pride, and vaunting 'himself in most of his writings, hath taken from him as from the 'Prophets (3 *Kings* 22.) the good spirit, and given him a waspish, 'haughty, lying one in its stead.

§.31. n. 2. Thus also *Calvin* (who liked well, and himself to some degree imitated *Luther*'s reviling spirit, when he wrot against the Church, yet censures, and condemns it, when turned upon his own party) in an Epistle to *Bullinger*: (*Calv. Ep. p.* 325.) —*Audio* (saith he) Lutherum *tandem cum atroci invectiva non tam in vos, quam in nos omnes prorupisse*; 'I hear that *Luther* has wrote a bitter invective, 'not so much against you, as us all. Then counselling the *Tigurines* to forbear him: *Ne invicem se mordendo & lacerando consumerentur*:

rentur: 'least biting and eating one another, they should be con-
'sum'd one of another. *Sæpe dicere solitus sum* (saith he) *etiam si me* Diabolum *vocaret, me tamen hoc illi honoris habiturum, ut insignem Dei servum agnoscam: qui tamen, ut pollet insignibus virtutibus, it a magnis vitiis laborat. Hanc intemperiem, qua ubique ebullit, utinam magis frænare studuisset; vehementiam autem, quæ illi est ingenita, utinam in hostes veritatis semper contulisset; non etiam vibrasset in servos Domini. Utinam recognoscendis suis vitiis plus operæ dedisset. Plurimum illi obfuerunt adulatores, cum ipse quoque natura ad sibi indulgendum nimis propensus esset*: I have often said, that should he call me *De-*
'*vil*, [*an usual reproach with* Luther,] yet I would honour him as an
'eminent servant of God; one, who has, tho great vertues, yet no
'less vices. That over-boyling heat and passion in all his writings
'I wish he had studied more to asswage, and moderate: and al-
'ways employ'd against the enemies of the truth, that vehemency
'which is natural to him; and not have turn'd it also against the
'servants of the Lord. Would to God he had been more vigilant
'in looking to his own faults. He met with flatterers that did him
'harm, being withal by nature over-apt to follow his own fancy. *Vehementia ingenita*, —and—*Ad sibi indulgendum propensus natura.* Thus the evil habits of an unmortified Will are charg'd upon Nature: And thus tenderly his friend handles those sores, which he could not cover.

Lastly, hear old *Erasmus* thus schooling him in a letter, (*Ep. p.* 828.) after he had bin formerly too much a cherisher of his Novelties, and also a pattern to him of scoffing at Religious persons, and other sacred things: thus, I say, he in his wiser old age, when he had felt the smart of *Luther's* virulent pen in his *servo Arbitrio*; —*Cujus ingenii sis, jam orbis novit; stilum vero sic temperasti, ut hactenus in neminem scripseris rabiosius, imo, quod est detestabilius, malitiosius. Hic videlicet tibi succurrit, te peccatorem infirmum esse, quum alias postules tantum non pro Deo haberi. —Quid faciunt ad argumentum tot scurrilia convitia, tot criminosa mendacia, me* ἄθεον *esse, me* Epicureum, *me* Scepticum *in his quæ sunt Christianæ professionis, me* blasphemum *esse, & quid non? plusquam tertiam voluminis partem his occupare libuit, dum tuo morem geris animo. —Illud mecum optimum quemque discruciat, quod tuo isto ingenio tam arroganti, procaci, seditioso, totum orbem exitiabili dissidio concutis. —Breviter sic tractas Evangelii causam, ut sacra profanaque omnia commisceas*, &c. 'What
'disposition you are of, the world now sees; and to shew your mo-
'deration you have hitherto writ against none more outragiously,

§. 31. n. 3.

and

'and, which is worſe, more malitiouſly, than againſt me. Here 'you remember your ſelf to be a poor ſinful creature, when at an-'ther time you look to be worſhipt as a God. To the matter in 'in hand what are ſo many ſcurrilous reproaches, ſo many ſlan-'derous lies, of my being an *Atheiſt*, Sceptical in Religion, a *blaſ-'phemer*, and what not? —Above a third part of your Book is ta-'ken up with ſuch ſtuff as this, I ſuppoſe, to pleaſe your own ca-'pricious humour. —To ſee the world rent and torn with diſſen-'ſion by your arrogant, ſawcy, and turbulent wit, is that which 'grieves me, and every good man. ---Your way of handling things 'of the Goſpel, is to turn all topſy turvey; as if afraid the ſtorm 'ſhould blow over. ---That which torments me is the publick ca-'lamity, diſorder and confuſion irremediable; and all cauſed by 'your unruly wit; ſtubborn and deaf to the good advice of your 'friends, but flexible to the ſuggeſtions of certain knaves, that carry 'you whither they liſt. He concludes: —*Optarem tibi meliorem mentem, niſi tibi tua tam valde placeret. Mihi optabis quod voles, modo ne tuam mentem, niſi tibi Dominus iſtam mutaverit:* 'Were you not 'ſo much pleas'd with the mind you are in, I ſhould wiſh you a 'better; and till God make it ſo, may you wiſh me any thing ra-ther than it. Thus he, *A. D.* 1526. But alſo when more in-dulgent, and not yet ſtung with *Luther's* bad language, he familiar-ly complains in an Epiſtle to *Melanchon* on this manner. (*Eraſm. Ep.* p. 630.) —*In doctrina* Lutheri *multa me offendunt; illud impri-mis, quod quicquid ſuſcepit defendendum, ibi impendio vehemens eſt; nec unquam facit finem, donec perferatur ad hyperbolen. Eam admonitus adeo non mitigat, ut omnia reddat* ὑπερβολικώτερα. 'I am diſpleaſed 'with many things in *Luther's* way of writing, but chiefly in this, 'That whatever he has once undertaken to defend, he does it with 'toomuchvehemency; nor ever ſtops, till he comes to an hyperbole; 'and when told thereof, ſo little does he mitigate, that he makes 'things ſtill more extravagant.

This diſcovery Chriſtians have of *Luther's* ſpirit. And it is not to be omitted here, (tho I ſtep a little out of my way to ſhew it,) that much-what the ſame may be obſerved in the other Co-foun-der of Proteſtancy, *Calvin*, that we may ſee they both learnt of one Maſter:) As may appear to any, that will only caſt his eye upon two little diſcourſes of his *Tractatus Theologici*; firſt, his *Antido-tum Concilii Tridentini*; and 2*ly*, his *Scholia* on the Epiſtle of Pope *Paul* 3. to the Emperour. In the former of which he frequently ſtiles the Reverend Fathers of that Council, —*Impudentes, Stultos, Nebulones, Beſtias, Cornutas beſtias, Aſinos, Porcos, Simias*; Impu-

dent,

dent, fools, knaves, beasts, horned-beasts, asses, swine, apes, and such like; vilifies their persons, learning, manners, decrees, in such terms as these: —*Ne quidem unciam fidei* Tridentinam *Synodum obtinuisse.* —*Vix unum esse versum* ---*qui non aliquo notabili errore conspersus sit.* –*Nullum esse tam nugatorium figmentum, quod inter fidei dogmata ab istis asinis non censeatur.* –*Non unquam vel crassissimi subulci judicio permitere ausos fuisse suas insulsitates, nisi Concilii larvam sperassent oppositam fore omnium oculis.* —*Istos nebulones ex suo capite fabricare ausos esse, quod nullum habet in verbo Dei fundamentum.* —*Nec tamen pudere istos Porcos territandis simplicibus denuntiationem sævam intonare.* &c. 'That the Council of *Trent* had not one 'dram of faith, not one line [*spoken of the 6th. Sess.*] without some 'considerable error: No fiction so trifling but is reckon'd by these 'asses amongst articles of faith. —Had they not hoped for the vi-'zard of a Council as a blind to mens eyes, they durst never have 'ventur'd their sensless fooleries to the judgment of the meanest 'Swine-herd. —That these rascals should dare to frame things 'of their own heads, without any ground in Scripture: and yet 'these Swine are not asham'd to thunder out their *Anathema's* to 'fright the simple. —A good many of the Popes scarce ever learn'd 'their Grammar. ---Hardly one of an hundred ever read over one 'of the Prophets, Epistle of the Apostles, or an Evangelist. —Cer-'tain prating, impudent Monks, whereof some look for Miters, o-'thers for Cardinals caps, first taught the Reverend Fathers their 'lesson, that so they might chaunt it out to us afterwards. ---Af-'ter a noise and brawling together, like the croaking of *Aristopha-'nes's* frogs, out come their goodly Decrees, forsooth, which hence-'forth must be vaunted for mere dictates of the Spirit. And *Blateronem quempiam ex Monachis, qui Concilium regunt, commentum suum recitasse; Patres ad sesquipedem usque auritos, annuisse:* 'Upstarts one 'of those prating Monks, that lead the Council by the nose, and tells 'a tale of a tub; to which the Fathers, with their ears a foot and 'half long, give their assent. That the former Councils, whose Decrees they pretended to follow, were held, *Post extinctam sanæ doctrinæ lucem, quibus meri asini, & crassi boves interfuerunt, qui nihil præ se ferebant antiquæ dignitatis*: 'After the extinguishing the light 'of sound doctrine; and made up of meer asses and dull block-'heads, not the least shadow of the dignity of ancient Councils 'appearing among 'em. And—Innocentium *tertium cum panculis cornutis bestiis laqueum hunc populo Christiano induisse, quem Patres* Tridentini *astringunt*: "*Innocent* the *3d.* with a few more as very 'beasts as himself, brought this snare upon Christians; and the

'Council of *Trent* ties the knot faſter. As for their piety and manners, —*Nihil mirum tam eſſe audaces, qui nullo unquam ſerio divini Judicii affectu tacti ſunt*: 'no wonder of their impudence, that were 'never touch'd with a true ſenſe of God's judgments. —*Facile eſſe Patribus Diabolica ſecuritate ebriis temporales vocare pœnas; quibus peccatum fere nullum eſt; niſi quis hominem occiderit; quibus ſcortatio vix leviculum eſt peccatum, quibus fœdiſſimæ libidines virtutis ſunt exercitia, quæ in laude ponunt; qui nullum occultum conſcientiæ vulnus pilo æſtimant. Hanc ſententiam abominantur Cornuti Patres. —Porci iſti in contrariam partem detorquent. --Non attendunt ſtulti homines.* 'Well may the Fathers [*ſpeaking of degrees of Puniſhment for ſin*] 'drunk with a diveliſh ſecurity, talk of temporal puniſhments, who 'ſcarce count any thing a ſin under murder, with whom fornica-'tion is a meer peccadillo; and the filthieſt luſts virtuous exerciſes, 'and praiſe-worthy; who make no account of the hidden wounds 'of a guilty conſcience. ---Theſe Fathers with horns on their heads 'abominate this doctrine. Theſe naſty Swine wreſt it to a contra-'ry ſenſe. ---Theſe Block-heads do not conſider.

This is enough. Such his language of ſo many Reverend Biſhops, his Canonical Superiours aſſembled from ſeveral parts and nations, ſitting in Council. It is an hard matter that a perſon ſo proud ſhould not alſo be erroneous. Neither uſeth he (in his other writings mentioned before) his *Patriarch* and the chiefeſt Governour in the Church any whit more civilly: —*Quis* (ſaith he) *non fuſtibus magis & lapidibus compeſcendum hunc impuri Canis latratum dicat*: 'Who would not think ſticks and ſtones the fitteſt to quiet 'this filthy barking Curr? And—*Quid tibi cum hac S. Apoſtoli voce ſceleſte Apoſtata, imo omnis Apoſtaſiæ Princeps; qui cum dies in machinandis perditionibus, in fraudibus excudendis, in moliendo innocentium exilio, in deſtruenda Eccleſia, &c. conſumis; reliquum tempus vel cum Epicureis ſuaviter te oblectas, vel in medio ſcortorum grege te volutas, inſtar Porci*: &c. "What are the Apoſtles words (*upon the Pope's 'ſaying*, That he was afraid with St. *Paul, leſt evil Communications 'ſhould corrupt good manners*,] to thee, thou wicked Apoſtate, nay 'Prince of all Apoſtates? for your daily imployment is only plot-'ting and contriving murders, inventing ſome or other new frauds, 'proſcription of innocent perſons, ruin of the Church, *&c.* 'the reſt of your time is ſweetly ſpent, either in merriment with 'Epicures, or wallowing like a ſwine amidſt a heard of impure 'curtizans, where you neither hear nor diſcourſe of any thing but 'what ſavours either of ſome execrable impiety, or rank obſcenity, 'thereby to provoke that thy ſhameful leachery; which tho out-

worn

'worn and grown impotent with age, yet itches ſtill. To ſpeak this with any truth one would think he muſt be one of the Pope's Bed-chamber, and Privy-Council; and to ſpeak it with any piety, or good conſcience,--that he muſt never have heard of St. *Paul's --Brethren, I wiſt not that he was God's High-Prieſt* &c. Mean while by this let ſober Proteſtants judge, how well this ſpirit of their two chief fore-fathers, *Luther*, and *Calvin*, agrees with the character of the Holy Spirit, ſet down before §. 1. And whether ſo great Pride is likely to diſcover to the world any great ſtore of Truth, or rather to betray ſuch perſons to ſtrong deluſions? To leave this ſecond, and return again to our Prime-Founder.

§. 32. Holy, His frequent communications with the Devil acknowledged by himſelf.

Hitherto I have ſhew'd you, out of his own, and the writings of other Reformed, the ſpirit and temper of this man, and the ſeveral ſteps of his bold march againſt the Governours, common Doctrines, and Laws of the preſent and former Church. In all which he ſeems to have ſuffered moſt ſtrong Deluſions from Satan; and as he deceived many others, ſo to have bin firſt by him miſerably deceived himſelf. Which the better to diſcover, it is neceſſary that I premiſe the extraordinary negotiations, the familiar Diſputes and Conferences, the ſeveral Temptations and Skirmiſhes, which he relates himſelf to have had with, and to have ſuffered from, this Enemy of Mankind; and the manner of his behaviour in them.

This then in his *de Miſſa Privata, & Sacerdotum Unctione*, he ſpeaks of the Devil, as of one whoſe Arts and Practices by long experience were very well known to him. *A me ipſo* (ſaith he) *exordiri, & confeßiunculam aliquam facere inſtitui- Quondam intempeſta nocte e ſomno evigilavi, & mox Sathan hujuſmodi diſputationem in animo meo (quemadmodum ſcilicet multas noctes mihi ſatis amarulentas, & acerbas reddere ille novit) mecum inſtituit*: Audiſne Excellentiſſime Doctor? "I am reſolv'd to begin with my ſelf, and make a 'piece of a Confeſſion. Once about midnight I awak'd, and pre- 'ſently Sathan (as he knows very well how to make me many a 'ſad and bitter might) thus began a Diſputation with me in my 'own mind: *Do you hear* (ſaith he) *moſt Noble Doctor?* ---And afterward--*Hæc illo dicente, ſudor ſubortus eſt, & cor mihi tremere, & ſubſultare cœpit. Diabolus ſua argumenta fortiter figere, & urgere novit. Voce quoque gravi, & forti utitur. Nec longis & multis diſputationes ejuſmodi tranſiguntur, ſed momento uno & quæſtio, & reſponſio abſolvitur. Senſi quidem, & probe expertus ſum, quam ob cauſam illud nonnunquam evenire ſoleat, ut ſub auroram quidam mortui in ſtratis*

ſuis.

ſuis inveniantur. Corpus ille perimere vel jugulare poteſt : nec id modo, verum, & animam quoque diſputationibus ſuis ita urgere, & in anguſtum coarctare novit, ut in momento quoque illi excedendum eſt ; quo ſane me quoq; non ſemel, tantum non perpulit. —Credo equidem quod Emſerus, *&* Oecolampadius, *&c.* 'At theſe words I began to ſweat; 'and my heart fell a beating and panting. The Devil knows where 'to fix, and how to urge home his arguments. He has alſo a 'grave and ſtrong voice. Nor do theſe Diſputations take up much 'time or talk; both queſtion and anſwer laſt but a minute. I now 'find by experience how it comes to paſs ſometimes, that ſome 'have been found dead in their beds. He can kill and deſtroy the 'body; and not only ſo, but with his diſputations alſo he can ſo 'preſs and ſtraiten the ſoul, that it muſt inſtantly expire; as he 'has been very neer ſerving me oftner than once. I am perſwaded 'that *Emſerus* [*one of his Adverſaries*] and *Oecolampadius*, were 'ſtruck with theſe fiery darts of Satan, that they died ſuddenly: 'for no mortal man, without the ſingular help and aſſiſtance of 'God, is able to undergo and endure them. He is pleaſant at diſ-'putation; he makes quick work on it, nor dodges, if ſo be he find 'a man at home all alone. Add to this what *Melch. Adams* ſaith in his life (p. 162. 168.) "That he had very frequent temptations 'and buffetings from the Devil, ſome in that extremity, as they 'made him lie as one dead. (Which *Melanchon* alſo atteſteth in his Preface to the 2*d. Tom.* of *Luther's* Works.) 'But (ſaith he) 'by reading of Scripture, particularly the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, 'and ſinging of Pſalms, which he requeſted of thoſe about him, he 'was recovered, and eaſed of thoſe affrights. *In horto* (ſaith he) '*domi ſuæ apparuit ei Diabolus Apri nigri forma*: 'In his own garden 'the Devil appear'd to him in the ſhape of a black Bore. —And *—apparuerunt ipſi aliquoties faces ardentes, quarum conſpectu peſſime habuit.* Ib. "Oft-times upon the apparition of fiery torches, he has been taken very ill. *Melanchon* alſo ſaith of him in his Preface in 2. *Tom.* *—Sæpe eum cogitantem de ira Dei, aut de mirandis Pœnarum exemplis, ſubito tanti terrores concutiebant, ut pæne exanimaretur*: 'that 'when he has been thinking of God's anger, and wonderful exam-'ples of his judgments, ſuch terrors have ſhook him, that he has been almoſt dead. And himſelf in his Epiſtle to his Father, preceding his railing Book *de Votis Monaſticis*, ſpeaks thus of his younger years. *—Videtur mihi Satanas a Pueritia mea aliquid in me præviditſe eorum, quæ nunc patitur. Ideo ad perdendum impediendumq; me inſanivit incredibilibus machinis; ut ſæpius fuerim admiratus, ego ne ſolus eſſem inter mortales, quem peteret*: 'It ſeems as if Satan had fore-

'foreſeen in me from a child thoſe things, which to his ſorrow he 'now feels; ſo mad is he with me, and by ſuch incredible ſtrata-'gems does he ſeek to hinder and deſtroy me. Inſomuch as I have 'often wonder'd whether I am the only mortal that he thus aſ-ſaults. Theſe words alſo in the ſame letter ſeem to imply ſtrange troubles and frights in his mind, and ſuſpicions of Satan's inter-medlings. —*Memini (*ſaith he to his Father*) nimis præſente memo-ria, cum implacatus mecum loquereris, & ego de cœlo terroribus me vo-catum* [ad Monachiſmum] *aſſererem. (Neque enim libens & cupiens fiebam Monachus, ſed terrore & agone mortis ſubitæ circumvallatus vo-vi coactum & neceſſarium votum.) Utinam, aiebas, non ſit illuſio, & præſtigium. Id verbum* (ſaith he) *quaſi Deus per os tuum ſonaret, pe-netravit & inſedit in intimis meis. Sed obſirmabam ego cor. &c.* 'I re-'member too well, when you was angry with me, and to appeaſe 'you I alledg'd a call [*to Monachiſm*] from heaven by terrors, (for 'indeed neither was I deſirous nor willing to become a Monk, but 'being frighted by the ſudden death of my friend I made a forc't 'and neceſſitated Vow:) I pray God *(*ſaid you*)* it be not ſome 'illuſion and cheat. Which words, as if God had ſpoken them by 'your mouth, pierc't and ſunk deep into me; but I pluck'd up a good heart, *&c.* [*Here ſeems he not to attribute theſe terrors to Satan?*] Such things I find alſo in his *Colloquies Ch.*35.p.381. *Engliſh tranſla-tion.* ---There he ſaith, 'That after his return from *Wormes,* 'when he was in his *Patmos,* (as he called it,*)* the Caſtle of *Wart-'burg,* lying in his chamber remote from company, the Devil much 'moleſted him; cracked ſome nuts he had in a box upon his bed-'poſt; tumbled, as it were, empty barrels down ſtairs, *&c.* That 'when he could not be rid of him with uttering ſentences out of 'the Holy Scriptures, then he made him often fly with jeering and 'ridiculous words; yet that he did put him into a bitter ſweat. *Ib.* p. 389. —'In my age (*ſaith he*) I am vexed and tormented 'with nothing, but only with the tribulations and temptations of 'the Devil; who walketh with me in my bed-chamber; he ſtrong-'ly ſcowleth upon me; he often-times afflicts me touching pray-'er; he ſtriketh cogitations into my breaſt, as if I did neglect to 'pray diligently: [*I ſuppoſe he means his diſcharging himſelf of that long office of the Canonical Hours, daily recited by all Catholick Prieſts; which at the firſt he diminiſhed, and deferred till Saturdays; then at* Me-lanchon's *advice totally laid aſide*:] "although I know, that in one 'day I pray more than all the Popiſh Prieſts and Fryers; but I 'babble not ſo much. —Again, *(c.* 37.*p.* 391.) 'The Devil *(*ſaith 'he*)* often-times aſſaulteth me, and objecteth; That out of my

Doctrine

'doctrine great offences, and much evil hath proceeded; where-
'with many a time he vehemently perplexeth me. And tho I
'make him this answer; That much good is also raised thereby,
'(which by God's grace is true); yet, notwithstanding, he is so
'nimble a Spirit, and so crafty a rhetorician, that Master-like he can
'pervert the same merely into Sin. (See §. 13.) What I teach, write,
'or preach, I direct and square all the same by the Gospel, –upon
'the Gospel do I ground my cause; yet notwithstanding all this,
[i.e. *his sense thereof, and this sense, as his conscience must needs tell him, contrary to that of the former Church,*] the Devil bringeth it so near
'unto me with his crafty disputing, [*would not one think it were his*
'*conscience rather,*] that the sweat of anguish droppeth from me:
'insomuch as many times I feel, and understand, that he sleepeth
'nearer unto me than my wife *Kate* doth; that is, he disquieteth
'me more, than she comforteth, or pleaseth me. *Ib.* c. 14. p. 234.
'I (saith he) can never be rid of these cogitations, in wishing I
'had never begun this business with the Pope. And p. 396. he
saith, 'That evil cogitations plagued him more than all his la-
'bours, which had been innumerable. — 'Often-times (saith he)
'I took business in hand, –thereby intending to drive away the
'Devil; but all would not do; he would neither depart, nor sur-
'cease. Therefore he that feeleth such devilish cogitations, and
'spiritual temptations, him I truly advise, that soon, and quickly
'he expell them. Let him think on somewhat else that is plea-
'sant; let him take a merry cup; let him jest, or play; or let him
'take in hand some other honest and civil matter, and seriously
'meditate thereon. But above all things let him stedfastly believe
'in Christ Jesus; for he came to comfort, and to revive, and will
'destroy the works of the Devil *Adams* also in his *Life*, p. 168.
mentions this complaint of *Luther* in his Epistle to a friend, (*Tom.* 2. *Epist.* 361.) —*Valemus omnes præter* Lutherum *ipsum, qui corpore sanus, foris a toto mundo, intus a Diabolo patitur, & omnibus Angelis ejus*: 'We are all well except *Luther*, who sound in body, yet is
'persecuted from without by the whole world, and inwardly by
'the Devil and all his Angels. --And in an Epistle to *Melancthon*, (*vid. Adams vita Lutheri*, 1529.) he professeth, 'as his strength in
'publick conflicts with men, so his weakness in private ones with
'Satan.

§. 33. By all this you may observe, 1. Strange tumults in this man's spirit; sometimes even to a *deliquium*, and fainting away; as *Adams* and *Melancthon* relate of him, which he endeavoured to remove

move ſometimes with ſinging or repeating Pſalmes, he and others with him; —*Venite, inquit, in contemptum Diaboli Pſalmum* de profundis *quatuor vicibus cantemus*: 'Come, ſays he, in defiance of the 'Devil let us ſing four times the Pſalm *De Profundis*: as *Adams* reports of him, *vit. Luth.* p. 162. (which puts me in mind of *Saul's* Spirit remov'd with *David's* Muſick:) Sometimes with reading the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, (out of which chiefly he ſolaced himſelf with Juſtification by our Faith alone without our Works;) ſometimes with wine, and going into company, and uſing other divertiſements. Alſo ſee *Colloq.* p. 404.

Secondly, That he moſt readily diſcharged all the ſtorms, anguiſhes, and pinches that he had within him, on the Devil, as he alſo adviſed others to do; telling them that the chiefeſt Phyſick for the cure of anxiety concerning faith and ſalvation, was firmly to hold ſuch cogitations not to be theirs, but to come of the Devil. See before §. 11. *n.* 1. —And the remedy he uſed for things that troubled him within, he applied alſo to the things that afflicted him abroad; any Doctrines contrary to his own, tho of his Fellow-Reformiſts, he pronounced them all Doctrines of the Devil; and was pleaſed to fancy the authors of them no better than perſons poſſeſſed, *Sathanizati*, as he called them, which hath bin hinted before, (§. 25.—31. *n.* 1.) his Polemical writings being everywhere full of this terrible name, *Devil*, as St. *Paul's* Epiſtles are noted for the frequency of the ſaving name, *Jeſus*. Now this indeed, *viz. that that which troubles us comes from the Devil*, were it true, affords a man the greateſt conſolation that can be: for he preſently ſtops his ears, makes reſiſtance, believes nothing hereof, as being ſpoken by the Father of Lyes; the ſtronglier he is oppoſed, the greater Saint he takes himſelf to be; the more he is charged, the more innocent; and finally the friend, and beloved of God, becauſe the Devil is his enemy, and impugnes him. And the Devil ſpreads no net, with which he catcheth ſo many, as this; to make men miſtake the chaſtiſement or the juſtice of God, for the malice and perſecutions of the Devil; the truth of God, for the illuſions and lies of the Devil; the motions and admonitions of the Spirit of God, or of their own conſcience, or alſo of their friends to amend and reform them, for the external, or internal ſuggeſtions of the Devil to pervert and diſcourage them. Therefore perhaps it will not be amiſs here to ſift this matter a little more narrowly; wherein I am afraid this poor man was moſt miſerably couzened, and deceived by that moſt ſubtle adverſary.

§. 34. Where, Of the great variety, and subtilty of Satan's temptations.

We must know then, that there are *three* Agents that work very intimately in us; our own Conscience, the good Spirit of God, and this evil Spirit; and did we know exactly concerning our internal motions, from which of these *three* they sprung; who would not be a Saint? For who, when he knew the Holy Spirit of God motions any thing to him, would neglect to defer it; or, when he knows the evil one doth so, would not resist it? but it is very hard, in every stirring, or suggestion of the mind, or fancy, to discern these three without error. So when our own Conscience, not yet quite seared, and hardned, or also God's Holy Spirit, brings our former life, or our present practices before us to produce our amendment, and to cast us into a wholsom sadness, or melancholly, and grief, not to be grieved for; we may father this on the Devil, (since all these things are acted only in the Soul,) as endevouring to reduce us to despair, and to dishearten our faith in Christ's Redemption. when as the Devil's temptation at the very same time is another quite contrary; and not the sadness, but the apprehension that this sadness is wrought by him; and the haste that they are prompted to, to dispatch it away, and shake their hands of it, as coming from him, is the only thing that comes from him; only the apprehension, I say, *that it is from the Devil*, is from the Devil. And there being two things, which he labours to effect, the one to reduce us by any means into an evil condition; and the other to breed in us a security in such condition: this way he takes, in our flying from the net of despair, which we think is spread before us, to drive us into another snare of presumption, in our thinking that our life is righteous, and holy, when it is not; or Christ's merits apply'd to us by faith without such holiness, and performing the Covenant of the Gospel, when they are not; and when Godly sorrow and compunction comes to work in us what is defective, and reform what is amiss, the Devil begets this fancy in us, that it is the Devil, that by this sadness would plunge us into melancholy, and despair; and so straight we labour to divert our thoughts, and to encourage our selves in our former courses; and we borrow of the Devil these wings to fly from him, which carry us just the contrary way.

§. 35. When this Tempter is undiscovered.

Indeed the Devil's temptations are very various, and contrary one to another; and to catch those who think themselves wary, he often changeth his snares, and his colours. 1. Often he transforms himself into an Angel of light, and is not discovered by us to be the Devil; and then he tempts us by delivering lies to us for truths,

and

and consequently evil for good, (whilst our wills do follow our judgments,) and so misguides us accordingly in our practices. Again, thus undiscovered, he not unfrequently, on the contrary also, represents truths to us as lies; and so good as evil, virtue as vice, (his property being to work evil out of good, as God's to work good out of evil.) *Truths*, I say, he represents as lies, inspirations as temptations; and in a dissembled holiness none so zealously as he, in God's name, persecutes these truths as coming from the Devil. None is so ready to discover all his stratagems, and subtileties as himself is; nor none commonly more strongly possessed with him, than those that most rail at, and abuse, (if I may so say,) and defie him; when as Saints usually are more modest in their behaviour, and go not beyond an, *Imperet tibi Dominus*: for he is a cursed creature, that stands little upon his credit, when it is for his gain. So amongst other false perswasions, which he insinuated into the *Pharisees*, this was one of the most perillous, (*Jo.* 8. 41,44, 48.) That they believed that our Lord acted all by the power of the Devil; and the Devil made them hate him chiefly on that account, as dealing with the Devil; and they having a Devil, and being children of the Devil, did by his suggestions rail at our Lord, that he had a Devil, and did cast out other Devils by him, and frighted the people from him on this account. So he represents and owns the works of God's grace within us, and the dictates of right reason, and of our conscience, that hath as yet some sense of faults, as his works, and as temptations that come from him: and on that score of being his, procures us to reject, cast off, and avoid them.

And by this disguise of Satan seems this poor man especially overthrown; who, when God's Spirit, or his own Conscience, spake to him sad things of his former courses for producing some amendment thereof, apprehended straight that it was the Devil, who endeavoured thus to disturb his proceedings; and resisted them as his temptations to despair. So when these set before his eyes the many ill consequences of his new Doctrine; the great licentiousness of life that followed it; the disobedience of Subjects, both to their Ecclesiastical, and Civil Superiours; shaking off all laws, and discipline; the many new Sects that sprung up every day, and those in his own judgment very impious; the many tumults, wars, slaughters, *&c.* and when these things struck him into very great affrights and pensiveness, here he betook himself to the remedy which also he prescribed to others, charged all on the Tempter of mankind, presumed for a great enemy of his Reformation; sought. §. 36.

to divert himself from such sad thoughts, as Satan's suggestions; when as this only was Satan's suggestion, *that he should think them so, and so divert himself from them.*

A temptation of the same kind with the former, and a very perillous one it is, when the Devil urgeth a known truth, as the Scriptures, in a wrong sense, and so makes it a lie; whereby he drives the tempted, casting their eye chiefly upon the text, and not suspecting the comment, unawares into evil practices. In this manner he urged it to our Lord; and ever since doth great mischief in the Christian world even with the word's of God; and from this art also of the Devil, *Luther* in his mis-interpretation of the Scriptures, especially to the great prejudice of works of *Piety*, and *Penance*, seems to have suffered much delusion.

§. 37. When this Tempter is discovered.

Thus for Satan's temptations when he seeth himself *undiscovered* by the tempted; by which he ordinarily endeavours to keep sinners in security: But when he is *discovered*, he takes another way. Here then he often speaketh to them the plain truth, and which they know to be so, thereby to discompose, and dishearten, and drive them into dispair. So he urgeth the Scriptures to us against past sins, but always with some false gloss annexed. Such was the temptation that *Luther* (but mistaken) apprehended in the Devil's disputation with him about the Mass. Here also sometimes he urgeth truth to us, as truth; by this to continue us more firm, whilst we give no credit to him in a contary error: for since we know him for the Father of lies, and know it also to be his voice, who would not embrace the contrary still to what he perswades, or argues for, and do just the opposite to what he counsels? As if the Devil known and discovered should tell *Luther*, that his Reformation was a most wicked act, and that infinite of Souls should be eternally ruin'd thereby, who can think but that *Luther* from hence would remain much confirmed, that his act was good, because the Devil disparaged it; and so the Devil, to overshoot him, accordingly tells him, that his Reformation was evil, and the many mischiefs it had done *&c.* i. e. tells him a truth, so to make him think it good, and more fix him in his error. This stratagem Mr. *Chillingworth* is willing to acknowledg in the Devil, *in his opposing so strongly the Mass, as he thus imagining to keep* Luther *the closer to it*; but then that *Luther* was here too hard from him, and out-witted him, yeilding to his arguments, and the truths he proposed; and prosecuting them, for this, the more eagerly. Sometime again here he urgeth our own present errors to us as truths, because we

already

already take them to be so; or he also further confirms them to us, if need be, with arguments of his own; hereby to drive us into despair, when we are conscious that our former actions have bin contrary to our present perswasions. Nay yet further (for who can discover all the subtle windings of that old Serpent?) he insinuates, and confirms such an error to us for truth, and pretends thereby to cast us into despair, when as he intends only by such proofs and arguments the more to establish us in such errors, and in our prosecution of them; that so we may expiate our former actions against them. Thus the Devil seems indeed to have ministred arguments to *Luther*, in that famous conference of his against the Mass; such as he saw also would sway him, the more to mis-perswade *Luther*, that the Mass was unlawful; whilst *Luther* apprehended, that the Devil did this only to perswade him, seeing the Mass was clearly unlawful, that he had formerly for many years in using it, incurred a most horrid sin, for which God's Justice would never pardon him. Thus the Devil useth to represent to us the former good we have done, as evil; the former faith and truth we have held, and maintained, as error, or idolatry, or blasphemy, *&c.* seeking many times thereby to beget, in good people also as well as bad, a diffidence in God. Here therefore all ought to be suspected that he saith, all his proofs well weighed; and tho when God, and our own conscience, or our friends accuse us of our sins, it is a commendable humility in us to be most ready to confess them; yet when the Devil will make us a roll of them, it is no such vertue here to confess them such, because he calls them so, or trust him with such an office; for if we do, he will throw into the account all our virtues too, and require repentance and reformation for our good works. Therefore in the assaults of this enemy, as we are to fence our selves, for things ill done, from despair by God's mercy and Christ's merits: so are we very warily to examine, whether the actions he blames have incurred God's displeasure, and be really faulty.

These several ways and subtleties of the Devil well considered, I see no sure ground, or motive that *Luther* had (in such frequent negotiations as he pretends with him,) whereby he can be secured that he was not miserably deluded, and deceived by him. Neither the great *plerophory*, and confidence he had in his opinions, and in his singular interpretations of Scripture; of which confidence see more below (§. 47.) that it is many times an operation of the evil spirit in us. Neither the strong imagination he had touching the regrets

§. 38. And that *Luther* had no secure ground that he was not by him most miserably deluded.

regrets he felt within himſelf touching his Reformation, that theſe were Satan's ſuggeſtions, and temptations, only thereby to make him deſpair, or deſert truth. For why might not this imagination rather be from Satan, and this regret from a relenting Conſcience, or God's Holy Spirit? And ſtrange it is, how he makes the Devil here blow both hot, and cold; for, when he was as yet in the boſom of the Church, then the Devil objected groſs errors to him, and by his Arguments diſputed him into a Reformation: and when gone out of the Church, and having ſo Reformed, it muſt be the Devil again, that, with terrifying his conſcience, and telling him, that his new Doctrines had undone the world, endeavours to drive him back again, and make him undoe his former work. But if he gathered from the later of theſe attempts of Satan, that becauſe this Fiend would perſwade him his Reformation was full of guilt, therefore it was juſt and right; why in his former attempts concluded he not, That becauſe the Devil oppoſed his ſaying Maſs, and ſuch other things, therefore he rightly performed them?

Neither is this any ſure argument of *Luther's* not being deceived by him, *viz.* his frequent railing, and inveighing againſt the Devil; his diſcovering, and ſlighting of his arts and wiles; his vilifying and triumphing over him, as a routed and vanquiſhed enemy. (See §.32.) (Whoſe ſubtleties holy men uſe to ſpeak of with much more modeſty, and fear of being deceived.) For (as I have ſaid before §. 35.) none rail more at the Devil, than the Devil will do for his own advantages; nor profeſs a greater hatred of him, or be more ready (but this is a greater plot) to diſcover his plots. In fine then, in the great uncertainty of the Author of the ſeveral thoughts and ſcruples that do ariſe within us, and in ſuch variety and diſagreeing ſhapes of Satan's ſuggeſtions and temptations, I know no ſafe-gard for *Luther*, or any other, to ſtand upon, but this; to be ſure not to be gotten out of the Circle (which incloſeth all Catholicks) of their obedience to their Superiours; and to ſubject their own *private* holy Spirit (if I or they may ſo call it) to the *publick* Holy Spirit, that dwells in God's Church; and to entertain no private ſenſes, and expoſitions of God's Word, contrary to the general one of the Church, from whomſoever theſe ſingular ſenſes come; much leſſe when they know they come from Satan. As *Luther* relates in his Diſputation with him, (*de Miſſa privat. & Sacerd. unctione,*) many of thoſe to have done; according to which he regulated his Reformation.

§. 39. Which

Which famous disputation of Satan with him I think not amiss to view more particularly; because several things appear from it very prejudicial to *Luther's* new doctrine, which it concerns Christians to take notice of. For whatever Satan's design in that disputation might be; whether by his defending and proving such things for truth, to drive *Luther* into despair, for having so long practised contrary to them, (the thing which *Luther* imagined); or, whether by the strength of his reasons, tho not by the credit of his authority, to confirm *Luther* the more in his new opiniens; which indeed was the issue of this disputation, (he having yeilded the field to the Devil in this combate as Conquerour), 1. There seems great evidence from this disputation, that the whole platform of the Reformation (be Satan's design therein what it will, He deceiving *Luther*, or deceived himself) proceeded originally from the Devil. For many of these very arguments against the former Church-doctrine, and Faith, which the Devil now openly owned, and urged to *Luther* in this disputation, held *A.D.* 1522. (*i.e.* as he saith, fifteen years after he was made Priest, and said Mass, which was in 1507, (*Melch. Adam. vit. p.* 104.) were the very same that had bin urged by *Luther* some years before; who began to publish them to the world about *A.D.* 1518. And who was, as he saith of himself, (*Prefat.* 1. *Tom.*) *Concionator, & Doctor Theologiæ*, 'a Preacher and Doctor of Divinity, in 1517. Was made Doctor 1513; writ a Book *de abroganda Missa privata*, 'of the abrogating private Mass, in 1521. using such arguments against it then, as Satan brought afterward, (as also then his Book against Monastic Vows:) and begins thus another Treatise, *De Abominatione Missæ privatæ, quam* Canonem *vocant*, 'Of the Abomination of private Mass commonly call'd the *Canon*, written in 1523. *Toties hactenus, cum pro concionibus, tum editis libellis docui, de ratione abrogandæ horribilis istius profanationis Missæ Papisticæ* &c. 'Oftentimes heretofore, 'both in Sermons and printed books, have I shown, why that hor-'rible Prophanation, the Popish Mass, was to be abrogated *&c.* Such Arguments then we see he used before this Disputation; and by it it appears from whose suggestion he used them. And tho this Disputation was not made known by him to the world till ten or eleven years after it happened, (when he had some experience of many being swayed by them,) *viz.* in his book *de Missa privata & Sacerdotum unctione*, 'Of private *Mass* and Priests *unction*, writ in 1533: yet the Reasonings of this evil Fiend were urged by him against the Church as Truth, both before and after his *Colloquy* through his whole ensuing life; the strength of these arguments, with

§. 39. 11. In particular concerning Satan's famous Disputation with him, touching the *Mass*, *nullity* of the present *Clergy*, *Justifying Faith*, &c. and *Luther's* behaviour therein.

with him overpoiſing the mendacity of the Author. And therefore this diſputation of the Devils againſt the Maſs and former religion hath had with many a contrary effect to what it had with *Luther*, either cauſing them to return to the Church, (as amongſt others it had once ſuch an operation upon Mr. *Chillingworth*; one of the motives of his reconcilement to the Roman Catholick Religion being ſet down by him thus, (in his Preface *fin.*) —Becauſe (ſaith he) *Luther* to preach againſt the Maſs (which contains the moſt material points now in controverſy) was perſwaded by reaſons ſuggeſted to him by the Devil, himſelf diſputing with him, as himſelf profeſſeth in his book *de Miſſ. privat.* that all men (ſaith he) might take heed of following him, who profeſſeth himſelf to follow the Devil); or cauſing them more firmly to perſevere therein. Tho *Luther*, whether out of vain-glory to ſhew his more intimate acquaintance, and negotiation with the inhabitants of the incorporeal world, and his defeat of their deſigns; or out of a conceit, that by the unanſwerableneſs of the arguments, tho taken from a prohibited Author, he ſhould promote his cauſe; or rather out of the merciful providence of God, to ſhew to all the world, by *Luther's* own Confeſſion, the Original Founder, and Abetter of the Reformation, the more to deter all from believing ſuch a lie, was forced (to the great regret of many of his followers, for the ſcandal given thereby) to publiſh to the world this his Confeſſion, as he calls it, of the things that ſecretly paſſed between him and the wicked Fiend. 2*ly*. For the diſputation it ſelf, the Devil's arguments are vain, and of no weight to perſwade what he pretends, and *Luther's* weakneſs very great in yeilding to them, and in afterwards uſing them, eſpecially known to come from the Father of lies; which to clear to you, I will give you the ſtory with ſome animadverſions upon it.

§. 40. n. 1. *Luther's* own relation of it, after his telling us how vigorouſly, and convincingly, and in ſhort periods the Devil diſputes, is this. —*Quondam intempeſta nocte e ſomno evigilavi, & mox Satan hujuſmodi diſputationem in animo meo (quemadmodum ſcilicet multas noctes mihi ſatis amarulentas & acerbas reddere ille novit) mecum inſtituit. Audiſne, dixit, Excellentiſſime Doctor? Num ignoras te quoque per annos quindecim privatas Miſſas quotidie fere celebraſſe? Quid vero ſi Miſſis hujuſmodi meram Idololatriam exercuiſſes, & non Chriſti corpus & ſanguinem, ſed nudum panem, & vinum illic, & tu adoraviſſes & aliis quoque exhibuiſſes adorandum?* Reſpondebam ſic. *Atque Sacerdos ſum ad iſtud muneris conſecratus, qui & Chriſma, & Conſecrationem*

ab

ab Episcopo olim habui; præterea omne hoc ex meorum Superiorum jussu, & obedientiæ debito per me factum est. Cur ergo non Consecravissem, cum verba ipsa diligenti studio pronunciaverim, & summa qua potui devotione in Missis celebrandis usus sim. Vere equidem hoc dicis (Respondit Satan,) sed & Turcæ, & Ethnici omnes quæcunque in templis suis agunt, ex jussa & studiosa devotione facere solent. Sacerdotes Jeroboam *faciebant etiam omnia certo zelo & studio contra veros sacerdotes in* Jerusalem. *Quid si tua Ordinatio & Consecratio falsa esset; sicut* Turcarum *&* Samaritanorum *falsi Sacerdotes, falsus & impius cultus est?* 'Some time since, about midnight I chanc'd to awake out of sleep, 'and behold the Devil (as he had known well enough how to oc- 'casion me many troublesome and restless nights) began a disputa- 'tion with me in my interior soul. Dost thou hear, said he, most 'Excellent Doctor? Can you be ignorant, that you also for fifteen 'years together have almost daily celebrated Private Masses? what 'if in those Masses you have practised down-right Idolatry in ado- 'ring there, and exhibiting to others to be ador'd, not the body and 'blood of Christ, but the naked bread and wine? I made answer 'after this manner. I am certainly a Priest consecrated to that ho- 'ly function [*of offering the body of Christ*,] having long ago received 'both Chrism and Consecration from a true Bishop. Besides, all 'this I did by the command of my Superiors in due obedience to 'them. Why might not I therefore in celebrating those Masses be 'said truly to consecrate, when with all possible care I pronounced 'the very words [*of Consecration*] in the greatest devotion I was 'able? —You say very true, (answered the Devil), but even *Turks* 'and all Heathens perform what they do in their Temples as by 'command, and with a sedulous devotion. So *Jeroboam's* Priests 'acted all things with a constant zeal and fervour, tho contrary to 'the true Priests at *Jerusalem*. What if your Ordination and Con- 'secration also should be false, as amongst the *Turks* and *Samari-* '*tans* false Priests, false and impious worship? [*As yet* Luther's *Ordination is questioned by Satan as false, but not proved.*] Satan then proceeds to give these Reasons thereof.

—1. *Primum nosti, inquit, nullam tunc habuisti cognitionem Christi, nec veram fidem*: 'First, you know, said he, you had then no 'knowledg of Christ, nor true faith. [*Nosti*: This Colloquy, then, was after *Luther's* reforming the former Doctrine concerning Faith, and his holding it the sole Instrument or Condition of our Justification; which Truth Satan (contrary to his custom surely) confirms to *Luther*. Should he not rather have bin jealous here of this his §.40. n. 2.

new Doctrine concerning true Faith, from Satan's recommending it? And might he not here have replyed, That, doubtless, when a Roman-Catholick, he had *veram cognitionem Christi & veram fidem*, 'true knowledge of Christ and true faith, or else God's Church then had none; and then how could any salvation be had in it; or how have not the Gates of Hell prevailed against it? Lastly *Satan's* and *Luther's vera fides*, the Solifidian doctrine, is now exploded by the better-understanding Protestants; *Satan* discovered a lier in it, and his Disciple *Luther* deceived.] —*Et quod ad fidem attinet, nihilo melior fuisti quovis* Turca. *Nam* Turca, *adeoq; omnes diaboli etiam credunt historiam de Christo, ipsum esse natum, crucifixum, mortuum,* &c. *Sed* Turca *& nos Spiritus rejecti non fidimus illius misericordiæ, neque habemus eum pro Mediatore aut Salvatore, sed exhorrescimus ut sævum Judicem*: 'And as to matters of Faith you 'are no better than a *Turk*. For the *Turks*, and so the *Devils* them-'selves also believe the history concerning Christ, that *He* was *born*, '*crucified, dead* &c. But neither *Turks*, nor we Damned Spirits do 'confide in his mercy, or so much as own him as a Mediator or Sa-'viour, but dread him as a severe Judge. [Here also *Luther* might easily have replied, that there is a *medium* between an historical, or the devil's faith, and his new belief of Justification by faith alone; and that if *his* former faith was such, as did not *fidere misericordiæ Christi, nec habuit eum pro Mediatore, sed exhorruit ut sævum Judicem*, 'confide in the mercy of Christ, nor acknowledg him for a 'Mediator, but tremble at him as a severe Judg; yet such was not the faith of the Church which he deserted.] —*Ejusmodi fidem, non aliam, & tu habebas, cum ab Episcopo unctionem acciperes, & omnes alii ungentes simul & uncti sic sentiebant, & non aliter, de Christo*: 'This 'kind of faith, and no other, had you, when you received Holy 'Orders from a Bishop: and all others likewise, *Ordaining* and *Or-'dained*, did so believe concerning Christ. [This indeed, if true, would make one sweat; but might he not here have told *Satan*, he lied, if not concerning his own, yet concerning the Churches faith; and have required a further proof of his word?] —*Ideo a Christo tanquam crudeli Judice, confugiebatis ad S.* Mariam, *& Sanctos; illi erant Mediatores inter vos & Christum; sic erepta est gloria Christo. Hoc neq; tu neq; ullus alius Papista poterit inficiari*: 'Therefore flying Christ 'as a cruel Judge you address your selves to St. *Mary*, and other 'Saints, making them Mediators between you and Christ. So was 'Christ robb'd of his Glory. This neither you, nor any other Pa-'pist can deny. [Here also *Luther* might truly have told *Satan*, that he belied and mis-represented the Doctrine and practice of the Church,

Church; which desires the Intercessions of the Blessed *Virgin*, or *Saints* deceased, to *God*, or *Christ*, in no other manner, than she doth the intercessions of *Saints* living; the desiring of which intercessions of *Saints* living is granted lawful, without inferring Christ a cruel Judge, or these Saints living, and not Him, our Mediatours, *&c.* Nor do any make their addresses so to *Saints*, but that the same do also to *Christ* himself. Mean-while here we may observe how zealous *Satan* is to rectify *Luther* concerning Invocation of *Saints*, so prejudicial to our Lord's Mediatorship *&c*; and accordingly *Luther* and his followers have endeavoured to rectify the Christian world herein.] —*Ergo uncti estis, consecrati & rasi, & sacrificastis in Missa ut* Gentiles, Ethnici, *non ut* Christiani. *Quomodo ergo potuistis in Missa consecrare, aut veram Missam celebrare? Ibi deficit (quod secundum vestram propriam doctrinam vitiat) persona habens potestatem consecrandi:* '---Ye were Ordained therefore, Consecrated, and offered Sacrifice in the Mass like to Gentiles, Heathens, not like Christians. How therefore could ye in the Mass consecrate, or celebrate true Mass, when-as there was wanting (what according to your own doctrine destroys the whole) a person having the power of consecrating. [*i.e.* Without a true faith and knowledge of Christ no true Priests, and so no true Ordination by them, and so no true Consecrating or offering of Christ's true Body and Blood; and so the Adoration of that which is taken for such Body is committing Idolatry. This seems the Summe of the Devils arguing. But the contrary appears by what hath been already said: *viz.* That there was a true faith and knowledge of Christ retained in the Church before *Luther's* times; and so a true Priesthood: and if there was not so before, how can there be any since? for none may make himself a *Priest*, nor is there any other to make him, if the former *Priesthood* perished. But whatever *Satan* might perswade *Luther*, his followers are wiser, than to deny a true Priesthood in the *Roman* Church; and so might he, had not *Satan* bin his Doctor.]

2. —*Unctus es tunc in Sacerdotem, & Missa abusus es contra institutionem, contra mentem & sententiam Christi instituentis.* —*Nam Christus voluit Sacramentum inter pios communicantes distribui; ad edendum & bibendum Ecclesiæ porrigi. Sacerdos enim verus est Minister Ecclesiæ, constitutus ad prædicandum verbum, & porrigenda Sacramenta, sicut hoc habent verba Christi in Cœna, & sicut* Paulus 1 *Cor.* 11. *de Cœna Domini loquitur. Unde & a veteribus Communio appellata est, quod non solus Sacerdos debeat uti Sacramento juxta institutionem Christi,* §. 40. n. 3.

sti, sed reliqui Christiani fratres una cum ipso. Nunc annos quindecim totos semper solus privatim pro te in Missa usus es Sacramento, & non communicasti aliis: 'You was then ordained a Priest, and have ever 'since abused the Mass contrary to the Institution of it, contrary to 'the mind and intent of Christ the Instituter. For Christ would 'have it as a Sacrament distributed amongst the pious Communi-'cants, given to the Church that all may eat and drink of it. Be-'cause a true Priest is a Minister of the Church, appointed to preach 'the Word, and administer the Sacraments, according to the words 'of Christ in his last Supper, and according to St. *Paul* 1 Cor. 11. 'where he speaks of the Supper of our Lord.' From whence also 'by the Ancients it was call'd the *Communion*, because according to 'Christ's Institution the Priest ought not to celebrate this Sacra-'ment alone, but other Christian brethren together with him. 'Now for fifteen whole years together you have constantly receiv-ed this Sacrament by your self, and not communicated it to others.' [Here again he might have answered, that he in all his his *Masses*, wherein himself received the Sacrament, was ready also to have administred it to othes, nor ever in any of them denied it to per-sons rightly prepared; much less held it unlawful, or was prohi-bited, to exhibit it to them. - That therefore his partaking it alone was not his, but their, fault; if any other were obliged to accom-pany him in it; but neither this their fault, who were no way en-gaged to receive it so often, as he offered it; nor lastly, that he is obliged by any precept of our Lord's to forbear offering to God the Father this *Commemorative* Sacrifice of the Death of his Son, (from which Christianity obtains so many benefits,) and consequently the partaking it himself, when others do not also communicate with him. And lastly, concerning the sense of any Scriptures that should be pressed by *Satan* to be such a *precept*, that he was to adhere not to *Satan's* or his own, but the Churches judgment thereon.] He goes on, —*Ideoque interdictum tibi erat, ne porrigeres totum Sacra-mentum aliis:* 'And therefore was you forbidden the giving this 'Sacrament in both kinds to the people. [Here again *Luther* might have answered *Satan*, as the Church doth other Adversaries; That there is no precept of our Lord's commanding a necessary communicating or receiving of the Sacrament in both kinds. And to *Satan*, if urging the words of *Institution* for such a precept, might have rejoyned; That neither modern nor ancient Church so understood the sense of it; as appears concerning the ancient Church in their giving the Eucharist frequently to sick, and to Absents from the Publick Service, *only in one kind*; holding doubt-

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less that they offended herein against no Command or Precept of our Lords; and that (as hath bin said) *Luther* was obliged to prefer the *Charche's* sense of our *Lord's* words before *Satan's*. And if *Luther* (on whom *Satan*'s words had so great an influence) should think in this case Antiquity ought to be slighted; (for to this purpose found those words in this very Tract, —*Neque hic moror clamores quibus geminantur* Ecclesia, Ecclesia, Patres, Patres; S.Gregorius, Bernardus, *tales Missas celebrarunt*, [i.e. *Missas privatas.*] –*Nam in vita aut operibus Patrum, in certamine Conscientiæ, nemo tuto innititur; sed tantum verbo Dei fidendum est*: '–Nor do I here regard those 'that cry out, the *Church*, the *Church*, the *Fathers*, the *Fathers*, St. '*Gregory*, St. *Bernard*, celebrated such [*i.e.* private] Masses. --For in 'the conflicts of Conscience none are to rely on the lives or works 'of the Fathers, but in the Word of God only put their confidence.' urging Matt. 24. Surgent Pseudo-prophetæ *&c.* ita ut in errorem inducantur (si fieri potest) etiam electi. *Ubi clare ostendit Christus fore, ut in Ecclesia inter Christianos Verbum & Sacramentum* &c. *in tantum abusum vertantur, ut vix Electi salvandi sint*: '*There shall rise* '*false Prophets* &c. *so that the Elect also (if it be possible) may be in-* '*duced into error.* Where Christ plainly foretels, that the time would 'come, when in the Church amongst Christians themselves, the 'Scriptures and Sacraments *&c.* would be turn'd into so great a-'buse, that even the Elect should scarcely be saved:) It may again be replied; —That this *Ecclesia & Patres* are appointed our guides in the Exposition of Scriptures *in certamine Conscientiæ*; and that the *Pseudoprophetæ* or false-prophets, in all times are to be thus discovered, and convinced, *viz.* by their opposing the sense of Scriptures given by the Fathers and by the Church. Nor have we any other *Basis* or steadiness of the *Catholick Religion*, when *Satan* and these *Pseudoprophetæ* cite the letter of Scripture, as well as the Church.] *Satan* goes on: —*Cujusmodi nunc hoc est Sacerdotium? cujusmodi unctio? cujusmodi Missa & Consecratio? cujusmodi tu es Sacerdos, qui non pro Ecclesia, sed pro teipso ordinatus es? De hoc Sacerdotio, de hac Unctione*, (*certum est*), *Christus nihil novit, nec eam agnoscit*: '—Now what kind of Priesthood is this? what kind of 'Unction? what kind of Mass and Consecration? what kind of 'Priest are you, who was not ordained for the *Church*, but for your 'Self? [i.e. *receiving the Sacrament alone, and not distributing it to o-* '*thers? of which before.*] Such *Priestbood*, such *Unction* (it is certain) 'Christ neither instituted, nor acknowledges. [*Words.*]

3. *Mens*

§. 40. n. 4. 3. —*Mens & ſententia Chriſti eſt, ſicut verba clare habent, ut tractantes Sacramentum mortem ejus annunciemus, & confiteamur*; Hoc facite, *inquit*, in mei commemorationem, *&c. Et ſicut* Paulus *inquit*, donec veniat. *Tu vero Miſſator privatus in omnibus Miſſis tuis ne ſemel quidem prædicaſti, aut confeſſus es Chriſtum:* 'The mind and in-'tention of Chriſt was, as his words plainly ſignifie, that we cele-'brating this Sacrament, ſhould ſhew forth and confeſs his Death, '(*Do this*, ſaith he, *in commemoration of me*, &c:) and as St. *Paul* 'ſaith *till he come*. But you a Private-Maſs-Prieſt in all your Maſ-'ſes never ſo much as once preached or openly confeſſed Chriſt. [Is not here alſo Preaching at the celebration of the *Euchariſt* made by *Satan* a Precept? If it be made ſo, might not Dr. L*uther* have anſwered him, that an Annuntiation of *Chriſt's* death is made in the very form of the *Maſs*, and this not only in the Commemoration and Repreſentation of the Sacrifice on the Croſs to *God* the *Father*, but alſo to the perſons that either are or may be preſent in ſuch private Maſſes; but that a *Sermon* is not required *ex Præcepto*.] *Tu ſolus uſus es Sacramento, & apud teipſum demurmuraſti ſibilo quodam tibi ſoli verba* Cœnæ. *Hæccine eſt Inſtitutio Chriſti? Cum hisne tuis factis profitebere te Sacerdotem Chriſti? An hoc Chriſtianum eſt & pium agere Sacerdotem? Ad hoc ne ordinatus es?* "You celebrated 'alone, and with a kind of murmuring mutter'd to your ſelf 'the words of the *laſt Supper*. Was this Chriſt's Inſtitution? 'can you approve your ſelf a Prieſt of Chriſt by theſe your acti-'ons? Is it pious and Chriſtian-like thus to act the Prieſt? was 'you ordained to this purpoſe? [*Words*.]

§. 40. n. 5. 4. —*Mens, & ſententia, & clara inſtitutio Chriſti eſt, ut Sacramento communicent & alii Chriſtiani, verum tu unctus es non ad diſtribuendum Sacramentum, ſed ad ſacrificandum:* 'The mind, and intention, 'and manifeſt inſtitution of Chriſt was, that other Chriſtians alſo 'ſhould communicate in this Sacrament: but you was ordained 'not to give this Sacrament to others, but to offer ſacrifice. [Here, if *Satan* had ſaid truth, neither had the ordained *Prieſt* any authority to give the Sacrament to himſelf. But *ſacrificare* in the Ordination, as the *Church* underſtands it, includes alſo the eating, and communicating, and diſtribution of the Sacrifice. Nor is the *Prieſt* ordained in the Church's Form of it, only *celebrare Miſſam*, to celebrate Maſs, (which alſo expreſſeth a participation of the Euchariſt,) or *offerre ſacrificium Deo pro vivis & defunctis*, 'offer ſacri-'fice to God for the living and the dead; but *in totum Presbyteratus officium, remittere, & retinere peccata; benedicere, præeſſe, prædicare*, *bap-*

baptizare, &c. 'but to the whole office of Priesthood, [which be-'sides, *to offer sacrifice*, is] to remit, and retain sins; to *bless*, *govern*, '*preach*, *baptize*, &c. Nor may we doubt, that *Luther* in that fifteen years sometimes distributed the Eucharist to others, prepared, and desiring it from him.] *Et contra institutionem Christi* Missa *usus es pro Sacrificio:* 'And contrary to Christ's Institution you 'used the Mass as a Sacrifice. [But our *Lord*'s Institution is otherwise understood by *Ecclesia & Patres*, 'the *Church* and *Fathers*, as making it to be a Representative or Commemorative Sacrifice and Oblation to God the Father of that only Satisfactory one of the Cross, to be continued in the Church till our *Lord's* second coming: which S. *Paul* seems also to have indicated, and so expounded it clear enough in 1 *Cor.* 10. 16. *&c.* comparing and making it run parallel with the offering and eating the Sacrifices of the Heathens offered to Devils. Nor ought *Luther* here to have taken *Satan's* bare word against the *Church* and *Fathers* without more proof. Mean-while we see from what Author (zealous forsooth of the right understanding of Christ's Institution, and of God's Truth, and vindicating it from former errors) the Reformed have learn'd their Opposition to the Evangelical *Sacrifice* of the Altar.] *Sic enim verba ungentis suffraganei clare sonant. Cum enim juxta traditam ceremoniam* Calicem *in manus dat jam uncto*, Accipe, *inquit*, potestatem consecrandi, & sacrificandi pro vivis & mortuis. *Quæ (malum) hæc est prorsus sinistra & perversa unctio & ordinatio, quod Christus instituit ad edendum & bibendum pro tota Ecclesia, & porrigendum a Saderdote una communicantibus* &c. *ex hoc tu facias Sacrificium propitiatorium coram Deo?* 'So indeed the words of the Suffra-'gan [*Bishop*] ordaining plainly signify. For when according to 'the traditional ceremony he delivers the Chalice into the hands 'of the then Ordained, he saith, *Take thou power of Consecrating and* '*Sacrificing for the living and the dead.* What a [mischief!] sinister 'and perverse Unction and Ordination is this? what Christ hath 'instituted, (and ordained to be eaten and drunk) for the whole 'Church; and what ought to be given by the Priest to other com-'municants *&c.* of this do you [*in private*] make a propitiato-'ry Sacrifice before God. [Here also *Luther* might have expounded to *Satan* the sense of the Church, and so have expected his Reply; *viz.* The Church stiling the *Sacrifice* of the Altar *propitiatorium* only in the application of the sole satisfactory *Sacrifice* of our *Lord* offered on the Cross. As also there were Sacrifices under the Law truly and properly stiled *Propitiatory*; yet only so with relation to our Lord's made at his death on the Cross.] *O*

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abominatio super omnem abominationem, 'O abomination of abomina-
'tions!

§. 40. n. 6. 5. —*Mens & sententia Christi est (ut diximus) ut Sacramentum distribuatur Ecclesiæ & communicantibus ad erigendam & firmandam ipsorum fidem in quovis agone variarum tentationum peccati, diaboli,* &c. *ad subinde renovandum & prædicandum beneficium Christi. Tu autem ex hoc fecisti proprium opus quod tuum sit, quod tu facias sine aliis, quod possis impartiri gratis, vel pro pecunia aliis:* 'The mind and inten-
'tion of Christ was (as I said), that this Sacrament should be
'given to the whole Church, even all those that should communi-
'cate, to raise and strengthen their faith in every agony of the va-
'rious temptations of sin, of the Devil, *&c.* thereby to renovate
'and set forth this benefit of Christ. But you have made it your
'own work, in that you celebrate alone, without any others there
'present; whether *gratis*, or for money.— [Spoken-to be-
fore; the Church repels none, denies the Sacrament to none worthy at any time; sells it to none. If L*uther* did, the Church must not answer for his guilt.] What follows next, is a Recapitulation, designed as it were only to fasten and rivet these truths better into L*uther's* mind, in which he was afterward to instruct the world; and the matter of it replied to before. —*Hic forsan dices, etiamsi aliis in Ecclesia non porrigam sacramentum, tamen ipse sumo, ipse mihi porrigo. Et multi in cœtu etiam Sacramentum aut etiam Baptisma accipiunt, qui tamen increduli sunt; & tamen ibi est verus Baptismus, & verum Sacramentum; quare tunc in mea Missa non esset verum Sacramentum? Sed hoc non est simile (*faith *Satan*), *quia in Baptismo sunt ut minimum duæ personæ, baptizans & baptizandus, & sæpe multi alii de Ecclesia. Et Baptizantis officium ejusmodi est, quod aliis de Ecclesia quid communicat ut membris; non aliis subtrahens sibi soli sumit, sicut tu facis in Missa. Et omnia alia quæ ibi geruntur, tum opus ipsum fit secundum jussum & modum institutionis Christi; tua autem Missa contra institutionem Christi:* 'Here perhaps you will say, [*in defence that it is* verum Sacramentum, *a true Sacrament, and* verum corpus Christi, *true Body of Christ, tho the Consecrator doth not rightly administer it, or is incredulous, and hath no right faith*] 'although I do not
'administer this Sacrament to others in the Church, yet I my self
'take it, I give it also to my self. —There are many also in the
'Church receive this Sacrament, as that also of Baptism, which
'yet do not believe, nevertheless it is true Baptism, and a true Sa-
'crament; why then in my private Masses may there not be a
'true Sacrament? But the case is not the same (*saith the Devil,*)
because

'because in Baptism there are two persons at the least, the *baptizer* 'and the *baptized*, and often others also of the Church. And the 'office of the *baptizer* is such, that he communicates something to 'others of the Church, not takes any thing from them to himself, 'as you do in the Mass. And all other things that belong to that 'Sacrament, even the whole *action* is according to the command 'and manner of Christ's institution, but your Mass is contrary to 'the Institution of Christ.

2. *Quare non docetis quod quis possit baptizare seipsum?* &c. *Quare rejicitis Confirmationem, si quis more vestro confirmaret seipsum? Quare non est Absolutio, siquis absolveret seipsum? Quod si nunc nullum ex Sacramentis vestris aliquis ipse pro seipso facere potest, aut tractare; quì fit ut tibi soli hoc sacrum sacrificium facere velis* &c? *Scio* (saith *Satan*) *quilibet Minister aliis porrigens etiam pro se sumit; sed ipse non consecrat sacramentum pro se, sed sumit cum aliis & Ecclesia:* 'Why then do you not teach, that any one may baptize himself? *&c.* 'Why do you deny *Confirmation* to be good, if according to your 'practice [*in the Eucharist*] any one should confirm himself? Why 'not Absolution valid, if any one should absolve himself? But now 'if no one can consecrate or celebrate any of the [*other*] Sacra-'ments for himself, how comes it to pass that you offer sacrifice 'for and by your self alone? I know (*saith the Devil*) that every 'Priest communicating others, receives also himself; but he con-'secrates not the Sacrament only for himself, but receives it toge-'ther with others and the Church. [First, here if *Satan* proves any thing by his instances, it is this; that if no man may baptize, or absolve, or confirm, therefore neither may he communicate, himself. But all Sacraments must not be made in every thing alike. 2*ly*, Neither in the Sacrament of the *Eucharist* doth any Priest consecrate or offer only for himself, nor take this Sacrament only to or for himself, if others be present, and prepared to communicate with him: but yet 1. he may give it to himself, as well as to others; and, 2. again, to himself, when not to others, if none offer themselves to receive it with him. For himself hath a share therein, and benefit therefrom, as well as others; nor doth their foregoing this benefit, infer or necessitate his.] §. 40. n. 7.

—*In his angustiis* (saith *Luther*,) *in hoc agone, contra Diabolum volebam retundere hostem armis, quibus assuetus eram sub Papatu: objiciebamque intentionem & fidem Ecclesiæ, scil. Quod Missas privatas in fide & intentione Ecclesiæ celebrassem. Etiamsi ego, inquam, non recte credidi,* §. 40. n. 8.

didi, aut ſenſi, tamen hoc recte credidit Eccleſia. Verum Satan e contra, Age, inquit, *prome, ubi ſcriptum eſt*, Quod homo impius, incredulus, poſſit aſſiſtere Altari Chriſti, & conſecrare, & conficere in fide Eccleſiæ, *&c. ubi juſſit, aut præcepit hoc Deus? Si nunc verbum Dei non habes, ſed homines hoc docuerunt ſine verbo, tunc tota Doctrina hæc eſt mendacium. Intentio Eccleſiæ non eſt contra clara verba & intentionem Chriſti. —Ergo* (ſaith Satan) *non conſecraſti, ſed ſolum panem & vinum, ut Ethnici, obtuliſti:* 'In theſe ſtreights, in this agony, (*ſaith* 'Luther,) as I was contending with the Devil, I thought to have 'vanquiſhed this great enemy with thoſe weapons I was wont to 'make uſe of whilſt a Papiſt. I urged therefore to him the Inten-'tention and Faith of the Church; *viz.* That in virtue of the 'Church's Faith and Intention, I had celebrated private Maſſes. 'If I did not (ſaid I) rightly believe, and intend, yet the Church 'always rightly believes. But the Devil on the contrary ſaid; 'Shew me, if you can, in Scripture where it is written, that a *wick-'ed, faithleſs man may aſſiſt at Chriſt's Altar, and conſecrate, and make 'the Sacraments in virtue of the Church's faith*, &c. where hath God 'commanded or enjoyned any ſuch thing? If now you have not 'the word of God for it, but men have [*traditionally*] taught you 'this without God's word, then this whole doctrine is a Lye. The 'Intention of the Church [*if the true Church*] cannot be contrary to 'the plain words and intention of Chriſt. Therefore (ſaith *Sa-'tan*) you did not conſecrate, but only offer, as Heathens might do, 'the naked bread and wine. [There is more ſuch like ſtuff. Here for what the Devil would perſwade *Luther*, that, *Nullus impius aut incredulus poteſt conſecrare*, &c. 'no impious or unbelieving perſon 'can conſecrate *&c.* it hath bin an opinion always exploded by the Church, and affirmed, that *Gratiæ gratis datæ*, 'extraordinary gifts and graces are communicable to wicked perſons; and the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, made before *Luther* writ this book, *Art.* 8. granteth, —*Licere uti Sacramentis quæ per malos adminiſtrantur*, 'That it 'is lawful to communicate of thoſe Sacraments which are adminiſtred by evil men; (quoting Matt. 23. 2,3. *Sedent Scribæ & Phariſæi in Cathedra Moyſi*, &c. 'In the chair of *Moſes* have ſate the Scribes and Phariſees *&c.*) And—*Sacramenta & Verbum propter ordinationem & mandatum Chriſti eſſe efficacia, etiamſi per malos exhibeantur:* 'the Sacraments and Word of God are efficacious, altho by evil men diſpenſed. As for any intention of the Church, it is only to confer the Sacrament according to what it believes to be the Ordination and Inſtitution of our Lord. And that its intention and faith is contrary to the Word of God and Inſtitution of Chriſt, is a thing

thing ſaid here by *Satan*, but not proved to *Luther*; nor ought he to have yeilded the matter till a further evidence of it; nor ought he to preſer *Satan's*, or his own ſenſe of Scripture, before the Church's; nor to account his ſenſe clearer, where ſo many againſt him think another ſo. Mean-while here again we ſee from whom the firſt Reformer learnt ſuch language, *Ubi ſcriptum eſt? ubi juſſit aut præcepit Deus?* 'Where is it written? where hath God com-'manded, or enjoyn'd it? And to plead *Verbum Dei* againſt the Church; *i.e.* their own ſenſe thereof againſt the Church's; (for what the word's of Scripture be, both are agreed;) and this with an addition of *clara verba Scripturæ*, 'plain words of Scripture on their ſide, when a thouſand men to one think the contrary; when as no words of Scripture, how clear ſoever, are interpretable ſo, as to contradict any other Scripture; and the *Clarum Verbum*, 'plain Text, muſt comprehend not one ſentence affirming what we would have, but the whole word of God as no where gain-ſaying it. And then who ſo fit to judge of the whole, as the Church?

This Encounter of *Satan* diſcovering, as he imagined, ſo much new Truth to him, and ſo many of his former Errors, but with this ill deſign, as he imagined, the intending thereby to caſt him into deſpair, (for no man can think *Satan* to treat with him on any other termes than to deceive, and do him miſchief: only his frauds are very various; and we may fancy, he propoſeth one, when he doth another,) put him, as he ſaith, into a great ſweat and anguiſh of ſpirit, as hath bin related before, §. 32. According therefore to this ſuſpicion of his, but quite miſtaken in *Satan's* deſign, after the relation of this *Colloquy* in his Book *de Privata Miſſa*, he goes on thus: —*Hic reſpondebunt mihi ſanctiſſimi Patres, An ignoras Diabolum eſſe mendacem?* 'Here the Holy Fathers [*the Popiſh Biſhops*] will anſwer me, 'Who doth not know 'that the Devil's a Lyar? To which he anſwers, —*Verum quidem hoc eſt, quod mendax ſit; ſed ejus mendacia non ſunt ſimplicis artificii, ſed longe callidiora & inſtructiora ad fallendum. Ille ſic adoritur ut apprehendat aliquam & ſolidam veritatem, quæ negari non poteſt; atq; eam adeo callide & verſute urget, & acuit, & adeo ſpecioſe fucat ſuum mendacium, ut fallat vel cautiſſimos. Uti cogitatio illa, quæ* Judæ *cor percuſſit, vera erat,* Tradidi ſanguinem innocentem; *hoc* Judas *negare non poterat. Sed hoc erat Mendacium,* Ergo eſt deſperandum de gratia Dei. *Non mentitur* Satan, *quando accuſat aut urget magnitudinem peccati* &c. *ſed ibi mentitur* Satan, *quando ultra urget ut deſperem de Gratia. In ſumma* (ſaith he) *nos ab ipſorum privatis Miſſis, ab un-*

§. 40. n. 9.

ctione Episcoporum liberati sumus. —Viderint ipsi quomodo sua Pergama *defendant:* 'It is true that the Devil's a Lyar, but then his 'Lies are not of the common make, but far more subtle, and abler 'to deceive. He so accosts, as to gain some solid and undeniable 'truth on his side; and that he so craftily and acutely urges, and 'so speciously colours over his lies, as almost to deceive even the 'most cautious. As when *Judas's* heart smote him, that Thought 'of his was true, *I have betrayed the just blood*; this *Judas* could 'not deny: but that was a Lie, *I must therefore despair of the grace of 'God.* The Devil doth not lie, when he accuseth or presseth the 'greatness of a sin *&c*; but he then lieth, when he farther presses, 'that I must despair of forgiveness. In summe (saith he) we are de-'livered [*by this discovery of their faultiness to him by* Satan] from 'private Masses, from the Ordination of Bishops; how they can 'defend their Church see they to it. [*Against* Satan's *Arguments.*] And from the time of this Disputation for ever after he desisted from saying Mass. See *Adam. vit.* p. 104.

§. 41. The Lie then, that *Luther* apprehended to be in *Satan's* discourse, was this; That since *Luther* had lived so long in so gross errors, and committed such great faults, amongst which *Satan* (as the *Reformed* after him do still) reckons his Idolatry in *Adoration* of the *Eucharist*, therefore his present condition was desperate. But *Luther* presently avoided this rock of Despair, and instead thereof, cozening the Devil, made haste to Reform his Practice and Doctrine for the future, and perswade the same to others; according to the truths discover'd to him by *Satan*, and confirmed by him (as he thought) by plain Scripture, quite contrary to the Devil's purpose and intention. Thus *Luther* conceited. But on the other side, the Devil's design seems to be, (in seeing a young man bold and given to novelties, and already, in the opposing of Indulgences, quarrelling with his Superiours, of whom *Mellerstadius* said (see *Adam. vit.* p. 104.) when he yet taught Philosophy, —*tantam esse vim ingenii in hoc viro, ut plane præsagiat, mutaturum esse vulgare doctrinæ genus, quod tunc in Scholis tradebatur,*) under a shew of driving him into despair, to make him swallow those things for truths, which, with the best arguments and art he could, he set forth unto him, and so to become the miserable Author, of a pretended Reformer, of the former corrupt Church-doctrines, and practices.

§. 42. And indeed the Devil's labouring to convince us of any truths, and his laying open our sins before us, is a temptation that is very cau-

cautiouſly exerciſed by him, leſt it ſhould have another effect than he approves of, *viz.* our repentance, and amending what he hath ſhewed to be amiſs. Therefore this is a ſort of temptation he uſeth not to men as yet young and vigorous, and beginning the world, as it were; but when we are come to an end of it, and now have no more time allowed us for a Reformation. Nor can we imagin that old Serpent ſo ſilly, as not to conſider, in the diſcovering ſo much new truth to *Luther*, and giving him ſuch unanſwerable arguments for it, what might happen, if, inſtead of Deſpair, he ſhould prove a Reformer. Nor could he but diſcern, that the gain he ſought or hoped by *Luther*'s diſtruſting the Divine mercy, was no way valuable in compariſon of the damage he hazarded by *Luther's* being his Convert. The moſt obvious interpretation therefore of ſuch a Temptation is, that the Devil with his beſt skill meant to *perſwade* him *lies*; that he might, according to the bold and fiery temper he ſaw in him, already inflamed againſt his Superiours, propagate and diſſeminate them all abroad.

But in this ſpreading of them it ſeems God would not ſuffer *Luther* to conceal the firſt Author. As for *Chillingworth's* anſwer, as touching this Conference of *Luther* with the Devil, (in his returning to *Proteſtantiſme*,) to his motive for relinquiſhing it, that is recited before §. 39. ' —That (if this Conference were real) the Devil might perſwade *Luther* from the Maſs *&c.* hoping by doing ſo 'to keep him conſtant to it; or that others would make his diſſwa-' ſion from it an argument for it, (as we ſee Papiſts do,) and be a-' fraid of following *Luther*, as confeſſing himſelf to have bin per-' ſwaded by the Devil. —To the firſt excuſe; we ſee that *Luther* had no ſuch thought, but that Satan's deſign was to make him deſpair. Again; it concerned the Devil, if having ſuch a deſign, to have urged either no arguments, or ſuch as in *Luther's* account ſhould have bin very weak, to leave him leſs ſhaken or doubtful of thoſe opinions wherein he found him; and not to have ſo much over-acted his part. To the ſecond excuſe; *Luther's* revealing his Author ſeems to have bin none of Satan's deſign (which Author, as I ſaid, for ten years *Luther* thought beſt to conceal, till he had ſeen many others ſwayed with theſe arguments, as well as himſelf; and ſo thought ſuch a ſtory of the *black Author* would not prejudice them,) but God's ſpecial Providence in behalf of his Church: of which the Chriſtian world doth well to make that good uſe Mr. *Chillingworth* ſpeaks of; to dehort men from ſuch, at the firſt, Satanical Inventions. §. 43.

And

§. 44. And, now I am ſpeaking of theſe Providential diſcoveries of *Satan's* wiles and works, a not-unlike accident to this of *Luther* happened alſo to *Zuinglius*, the 2*d*. Innovator in, and Reformer of, the former Doctrine of the *Euchariſt*; and contending for a *virtual* only, not *real*, *Preſence*; and, *Hoc eſt*, 'this is, to mean only, *Hoc ſignificat, Corpus meum*, 'This ſignifies my Body; He then being on a certain day to confirm his new doctrine in a Sermon to the people, and very cogitative and ſolicitous to find out ſome new place, and to clear all exceptions, (*Cœpimus*, ſaith he, *omnia cogitare, omnia evolvere*, &c. ſome former inſtances of his being rejected, becauſe extracted out of Parables, as that *Luk*. 8. 11. *The ſeed is the Word of God,*) the night before in his ſleep had, as he ſaith, an extraordinary *Monitor* ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, *from the sky*, but *ater an albus* he knew not, who ſuggeſted a text of Scripture to him; which being the next day urged and dilated on, fully ſatisfied his Audience, ſo that they afterward wholly acquieſced in his opinion. Upon which good ſucceſs, he afterward writing a Tract *De ſubſidio Euchariſtiæ*, of the ſuccour he received concerning the Euchariſt, thought himſelf obliged to acknowledge the favour done him by ſuch an extraordinary Meſſenger. And his Relation (to give it you in his own words) is this. *Cum vero tredecimus dies* [Aprilis] *adpeteret, vera narro, adeoque vera, ut celare volentem conſcientia cogat effundere, quod Dominus impertiit; non ignorans quantis me contumeliis riſibuſque exponam; Cum, inquam,* 13. *Aprilis lux adpeteret, viſus ſum mihi in ſomnio multo cum tædio contendere cum Adverſario ſcriba, ſicque obmuteſcere, ut quod verum ſcirem, negante lingua beneficium ſuum, proloqui non poſſem. Qui me angor (ut ſolent nonnunquam ſomnia fallaci ludere nocte, nihil enim altius quam ſomnium narramus, quod ad nos attinet, tametſi leve non ſit quod per ſomnium didicerimus, gratia Deo, in cujus ſolius gloriam iſta prodimus) vehementer turbare videbatur. Ibi* ἀπὸ μηχανῆς *viſus eſt Monitor adeſſe; Ater fuerit, an Albus, nihil memini; ſomnia enim narro; qui diceret, Quin ignave, reſpondeas ei, quod Exod.* 12. *ſcribitur;* Eſt enim *Phaſe*, hoc eſt Tranſitus Domini. *Protinus ut hoc phantaſma viſum eſt, ſimul expergefio, & e lecto exilio, locum apud Septuaginta primum undique circumſpicio, ac de eo coram tota Concione pro viribus diſſero, qui Sermo, ubi acceptus eſt, omnibus ſacrarum literarum Candidatis, qui adhuc nonnihil propter Parabolæ obſtaculum hærebant, omnem nebulam diſcuſſit.* 'When the 13*th*. of *April* 'drew near, (what I tell you is true, nay ſo true, that tho I would 'willingly have conceal'd it, yet my Conſcience forced me to utter 'what the Lord hath imparted to me, notwithſtanding the many 'ſcoffs and jeers to which I know I ſhall expoſe my ſelf thereby:)

the

'the night, I say, before the 13*th.* day, I dream'd that I had a hard 'tug with the Scribe my Adversary, [*one that had disputed before in 'the Assembly against his new Opinion,*] and was so struck dumb, that, 'my tongue refusing to do its duty, I was not able to speak what I 'knew to be true. At which me thought (as in ones dreams such , thoughts are not unusual, for also what I relate, for my own part 'I take it to be no better than a dream; though what I learn'd by 'it is no small matter, thanks be to God, for whose glory alone I 'now declare this,) I was exceedingly troubled and perplexed; 'when lo a *Monitor* (whether black or white I now remember 'not) as it were sent from above to assist me, seem'd to say to me, 'Why, Dullard, dost not answer him what is written *Exod.* 12. '*It is the Lords Passeover*? As soon as this Phantasm appear'd to 'me, I awoke, leap't out of bed, look'd out the place in the *Septua-'gint*; and the next day discours'd thereon before the whole As-'sembly, to the great satisfaction of all the young Students in Di-'vinity, who before stuck a little by reason of the Parable. Here *Zuinglius*, the Head of the *Sacramentarians*, we see, had a spiritual *Monitor* to instruct him, as well as *Luther*; and in the same manner, after he saw his Opinion take, he confessed it; and if we may believe, of this *Monitor*, *Luther*, who writ an Answer to *Zuinglius*, (called *Defensio Verborum Domini in Cœna*,) and among other Texts gives one to this of *Exodus*, he saith, *It was no better than the Devil deluded him.* —*Luce meridiana clarius est, hanc Hæresin nihil aliud esse, quam acerbam & effrænem Diaboli petulentiam, & ludibrium; qui præ nimia securitate studio id sibi habeat, ut nos suis frigidis & versutis glossematis, & interpretationibus indignis modis irrideat*: 'It is as 'clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that this Heresy [*so he calls that of 'Zuinglius*,] is nothing else but the bitter and unruly petulancy 'and mockery of the Devil, who by reason of too much security '[*our not being cautious enough to observe his frauds*,] makes it his bu-'siness basely and unworthily to shamm us with his sorry, but craf-'ty, glosses and interpretations. This Account I thought fit to give the Reader of *Luther's* Relation of his Colloquy and Disputation with the Devil; who therein delivered to him the seeming truths of the Reformation.

Tho indeed the Arguments, wherewith he perswaded him, are very frivolous, and many of them also now laid aside by the Reformed his followers. As 1. the *Nullity of* Luther's *faith*, whilst yet a Roman-Catholick, urged by Satan in order to the verity of the *Solifidian* Tenent, now by learned Protestants much exploded. §. 45.

2. The

2. The Nullity of his Holy *Orders*, and *Priesthood*; whereby his Consecration of the *Eucharist* is argued defective. But the Reformed grant the Holy *Orders* conferred in the *Roman Church*, and such as *Luther* received, valid and good; and from these would secure their own. 3*ly*, His using the Eucharist not only as a Sacrament, but Sacrifice, and his Ordination thereto. But this use of the *Eucharist*, as such, as it occurs every where in the Fathers; so is justified by learned Protestants. Of which Mr. *Mede* his Sermon on *Malachy* 1. 11. hath treated copiously. Where *p.* 475. he saith, '—That as Praise and Prayer may be called the *sacrificium quod*, 'the sacrifice *which* is offered by Christians, so the Commemora-'tion of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross is the *sacrificium quo*, the sa-'crifice *whereby* the other is *accepted*. And *p.* 495. saith, —'That 'our Blessed Saviour ordained this Sacrament of his Body and 'Blood as a Rite to bless and invocate his Father by; instead of 'the manifold and bloody Sacrifices of the Law. And afterward, that "—Instead of the slaying of Beasts, and burning of Incense, 'whereby they called upon the name of God in the Old Testa-'ment, the Fathers, I say, believed our Saviour ordained this 'Sacrament of Bread and Wine, as a Rite whereby to give thanks 'and make supplication to his Father in his Name. The mystery 'of which Rite they took to be this; That, as Christ by present-'ing his death, and satisfaction to his Father, continually inter-'cedes for us in Heaven; so the Church on Earth semblably ap-'proaches the Throne of Grace, by representing Christ unto his 'Father in these holy Mysteries of his Death and Passion. Quot-ing also *Perkins* in his *Demonstratio Problematis de Sacrificio Missæ*, where he saith, —'*Veteres Cœnam Domini, seu totam Cœnæ actionem & formulam vocarunt* Sacrificium; *tum aliis de causis, tum quia est Commemoratio, adeoque Repræsentatio Deo Patri sacrificii Christi in Cruce immolati.* 'The Ancients called the Supper of our Lord, or 'the whole Action and Canon of the Mass a Sacrifice; as for other 'reasons, so also because it is a Commemoration, and consequent-'ly Representation, to God the Father, of the sacrifice of Christ of-'fer'd upon the Cross. Lastly, *p.* 504. contends, —'That there 'may be a Sacrifice, which is a representation of another; and yet 'a Sacrifice too: And such is this of the New Testament; a sacri-'fice, wherein another sacrifice, that of Christ's Death upon the 'Cross, is commemorated. And whereas the same *Mede* would relieve himself and the Reformed in denying the Eucharist to be a Sacrifice *really* and *properly* so called, (for something must be said to free themselves from Popery,) yet he sticks not to grant the former

mer Sacrifices under the Law, *proper* and *real*, notwithstanding that they were commemorative of another, that on the Cross; and this Sacrifice of the Eucharist to be ordained in their stead: whilst the Caholicks on the other side do also make this Sacrifice on the Altar a commemoration of that of the Cross. I have set down this to shew, how different the Sons are to their first Father, as to this point of the Christian sacrifice of the Altar; and how false in this Satan was to *Luther*.

In all this said of *Luther's* communication with the Devil, I do not make *Luther* any confederate with him, but only a person miserably deceived by him. I do believe, that he in persecuting the Church of God, and its former truth, as the Jews in persecuting our Lord, and his Doctrine, thought he *did God good service*, and therefore the Devil great disservice; and that he really took God for his friend, and the Devil for his enemy, as they also did: of whom nevertheless our Lord declared, that they were the *Devil's Children*, and he their Father; and that they *did the works* of this their *Father*, and spake his words. (*Jo.* 8. 41,44.) But neither do I apprehend this gross misperswasion of his to have excused him any more than theirs did; since he wanted not sufficient testimony, and evidence on every side, especially from the voice of the whole Church Catholick, that he was deceived; and the merciful God, without his own first shutting his eyes and hardening his heart, would not have given him up to such a blindness, and strong delusion.

§. 46. 12. That probably *Luther* discovered not these wiles of Satan, but served him ignorantly.

Mean-while, a great advantage this is to Satan, (and therefore he labours it much,) when they that do his business do not know so much. For such persons do it much more zealously, resolutely, and without all remorse, whilst they fancy themselves Saints, and Martyrs; and not them, but their adversaries the instruments of the Devil: whereas he acts but timorously, whose Conscience mean-while trembles, and is continually questioning his endeavours, and recalling him from his work. And the Devil well sees, that Hypocrites, and dissemblers, tho these are a higher sort of his servants, yet do not do his business half so well: For, in some thing, or other, these flag at length, and detect themselves, at least they will hardly be Martyrs for him. As therefore this evil spirit in other things emulates and strives to resemble the Good, so in this; that, as the Holy Ghost inspires into God's Ministers a very great boldness, (*Act.* 4.29,31.) and confidence, and full perswasion in

§. 47. And therefore was a more dangerous instrument of his.

delivering of divine truths, and undergoing any ſufferings in teſtimony thereof; even ſo this evil ſpirit inſtils alſo a ſtrange plerophory of blindneſs, and deluſive credulity, into his Miniſters, in the believing, and teaching a lye, not to be diſcerned from the other many times, even when it comes to laying down of lives. Which we may be certain of, as often as we ſee (truth being but one) ſome dye at *Smithfield* by fire, and others at *Tiburne* by ſuſpenſion, with an externally appearing equal reſolution and courage, for *two* contradictories; one therefore dying for a lye. And this is the more remarkable, in that even in defence of Atheiſm, ſome (doubtleſs ſtrongly deceived by the Devil) have ſacrificed their life, (as that deſperate perſon *Vaninus* in *France*,) meerly out of love to this doctrine, as a truth; for he, who held no God, looked for no future reward of his Martyrdom; nor feared any future puniſhment for his diſavowing ſuch Atheiſm, and ſo ſaving of his life. And this ſtrange confidence *Luther* himſelf meeting with, and admiring in ſome Proteſtant ſects that oppoſed him, readily acknowledged it in them a bewitchment of the evil ſpirit; yet in himſelf he (as alſo his followers) took this confidence for a ſignal operation of the good.

§. 48. To this end alſo the Devil is glad to maintain ſeveral virtues in his ſervants, (tho this in other reſpects much againſt his will,) ſo to make their bad wares ſalable: and ſome ſmall ſtock of good his inſtruments commonly have, which he leaves undefaced, and diligently mixeth with that evil which he hath planted in them, ſo to make this the more current, and all eaſily ſwallowed down together by the imprudent, and credulous. For all men avoid thoſe in whom appears no good; and the wolves that raven moſt put on ſheeps-cloathing. Even Satan, to ſet off himſelf, he is ſo ugly a creature, is forced, tho he hates ſuch a habit, partly to dreſs himſelf like a good Angel: who if he ſhould always wear horns, and cloven feet, he could get few or none to follow his colours. Had *Luther* bin a much worſe man than he was, he had done leſs miſchief, and Satan leſs ſervice; and had this Fiend handled him ſo roughly at his death, as ſome tell us; perhaps his Reformation, by the world's being frighted thereat, would have bin ſtrangled, and deſerted in its birth: whereas now the ſhew of ſome Chriſtian virtues left in him, his inveighing every where againſt Satan as his ſworn enemy, his proteſtation of all ſincerity and conſcientiouſneſs in his diſcourſes and dealing, his confidence, or, as he calls it, certainty, that his doctrine came from above, his juſtly blaming

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(as alſo did the Catholick Doctors) ſeveral corruptions of manners in the Church, *&c.* drew many after him unawares into the ſame nets of the Tempter, and propagated his errors to poſterity.

§. 49. And that there wanted not ſpecious pretences for ſeveral things in his Reformation.

Very ſpeciouſly therefore, I grant, this man began to rail at the Phariſaical humour of many Religious, (and perhaps ſome ſuch Religious there were), who relied on the purity and merits of their own works, and holineſs; againſt whom he preached Chriſt's Merits, and our Juſtification in remiſſion of our ſins. Speciouſly afterward he preached, and writ againſt Indulgences; and perhaps rightly, as to ſeveral abuſes wherein they were by ſome miſunderſtood, and practiſed; and this perhaps done by him not out of any emulation, or envy of ſome benefit thereof accruing to another Religious order, the *Dominicans*, but out of conſcience: tho this his action, free from envy or avarice, might be ſtained with ſome tickling of vain-glory, fed by the popular applauſe that followed him. So at the firſt he did not caſt off all obedience to his Superiours, or intended it, (as himſelf often profeſſeth,) nor yet intended at the firſt a Reformation of the Church's doctrines in ſo many points as he invaded afterward, but ſome amendment in manners rather; and afterward, when time and company had emboldened him to do this, yet he ſtill ſupported ſuch fact with this pious intention, that he did it for defending the truth; and that he only diſobeyed his other Superiours to obey God the Supreme. Neither is it likely, that he ever intended by his preaching down he Evangelical Counſels of perfection, the three vows of Religion, Sacramental Confeſſion, Penances, *&c.* to introduce ſuch a licentiouſneſs of life as he ſaw afterwards followed upon it: nor by his throwing off the yoke of authority, to lay the way open for ſo many Sects, as he ſaw crowded in ſuddenly after it, beſides his own. Such might be the Devil's deſigns from the firſt, but not *Luther's*; and had *Satan* pulled off his Mask, and diſcovered to *Luther* at the beginning all the evil he meant to make of him, or introduce by him; doubtleſs this man would have ſtartled, and recoiled; and this ſubtle enemies plots are ſooften ſpoiled and fruſtrated, as they are fully diſcovered.

§. 50. Nor ſome perſonal qualities that render'd him acceptable to his ſect.

And as I eſteem *Luther* from the beginning not abandoned of all good intentions, ſo neither deprived of all moral virtues; theſe ſeem to me two very faulty extremities, to repreſent any man's life ſo wicked, as to have nothing good in it; or ſo holy, as to have no faults. For any thing I can find, this man was very free from

the vice of Covetousness; but then it is true, that some men are freed from this only on this score, that it cannot thrive near, or cohabit with the vice of Ambition, or Vain-glory. He is reported by his friends to have bin very charitable to the poor; but this also may be done (tho I cannot say his was so) with an eye in our charity to humane praise, as well as to our neighbour's necessities. So *Melancthon* notes of him, that he exceedingly opposed taking up armes in defence, or for propagation, of Religion; which yet might ground it self on no better foundation, but only a consciousness in his time of the weakness of the Protestants power in comparison of their Adversaries; and he might be averse from it, more because he thought it not expedient, than not just. He seems likewise to have bin a man of great and indefatigable industry; of a resolute, and undauntable courage; of which see what is said before §. 47. But these are reckoned amongst good or bad things according to their effect; and so far as they tend to God's service, or to any others benefit, men may hope for a just recompence from God in accession of glory, or diminution of punishment; so far as they tend to God's dishonour, or anothers harm, they must needs proceed from an evil root; and from him they may expect their wages, whose work they do, and whose cause they promote.

§. 51. If such things as these may be urged for him; yet what more do they shew, than, some of them, that he was not at his worst at first; and other, that he was never so bad as he might have bin: but what are these to recompence, or make satisfaction, for that spirit of pride and contention; of licentiousness, and rebellion; of anger, and impatiency; self-admiration, and contempt of others; of railing and blaspheming against the Catholick Church, (stiling it the *Whore of Babylon*, and *the Spouse of Antichrist*, and that for many ages before his own time,) and against the spiritual Fathers thereof ancient and modern, Prelates and Councils, (pronouncing even of the first Council of *Nice*, —*Se non intelligere Spiritum sanctum in hoc Concilio* (see before §. 19.); against the Grace and Spirit of God, as it inhabits in his Saints, and brings forth fruits in them of a most sweet smelling savour to God; of which he said for his advancing of Justification by Faith alone, that —*Opus bonum optime factum* was *peccatum mortale secundum judicium Dei*: —and that —*Nemo certus se non semper peccare mortaliter*; against Chastity and Abstinency, against Solitude and Watching, against Fasting and Hair-cloth, against the diurnal and nocturnal Offices of the Church, and the Canonical hours of Prayer; against hard treatment

ment of the Body, poverty and lowneſs of Spirit, and preferring our Superiors reaſon and will, for the conduct of our life, before our own? What are ſome good things found in this perſon (as none is every way bad) to counterpoiſe thoſe vices (ſo oppoſite to the fundamental virtues of Self-abnegation, Humility, and Charity,) which do appear in this former diſcourſe to have ſo fully poſſeſſed, and reigned in this man; pride, anger, contention, diſobedience, ſenſuality, breach of lawful and ſacred vows, *&c*? Who is there, that will abſolve a Traitor arraigned for murthering his Prince, becauſe his neighbours come in, and witneſs, that he was charitable to the poor, or a good houſe-keeper? Or who will abſolve the Phariſee for blaſpheming our Lord's Spirit and Doctrine, becauſe he paid Tythe mean-while of his Mint, and Cummin? Whereas therefore thoſe, who have bin ſent by God in ſeveral ages, ſince our Lord's departure, for the reforming of Chriſtian manners, and advancing of piety, and religion, have appeared to be perſons of extraordinary ſanctity, and ſtrictneſs, and auſterity of life, of great humility, and meekneſs, and punctual obedience to their Eccleſiaſtical Superiours; and their Reformations, and new Inſtitutions ſtill licenſed by the Same: ſo it is that this perſon appeared in an oppoſite way to all the former, in caſting down their works; and in magnifying himſelf as a diſcoverer of new truth; in throwing off all obedience to his ſpiritual Superiours; in calling Chriſtians to more liberty, (not ſtrictneſs,) and caſting the work of their ſalvation wholly upon Chriſt's ſhoulders; yet how much he magnified the works of God the Son for the faithful, ſo much depreſſing and vilifying the operations of God the Holy Ghoſt within the faithful.

§. 52. 13. The reſemblance of *Luther's* change of Religion, in ſeveral particulars, to the former of *Mahomet.*

Where ſeeing that there have bin, ſince our Lord's time, only *two* moſt famous Innovations made in Religion againſt Church-Authority, that have drawn many Nations after them, and divided them one from another in the worſhip of God; the firſt of *Mahomet*, the ſecond of *Luther*; this ſecond Innovator may be obſerved to have reſembled the former in ſeveral particulars.

1. In his overthrowing and rejecting the Senſe & expoſition of the Scripture received in former times. This later Innovator urging, That the true ſenſe and meaning of God's word was falſified for many ages, as the other did, that the words and writings thereof. [Of which ſee before *§*.20. –*Quanti errores in omnium Patrum ſcriptis.* –*Quiseſt, qui non ſæpius Scripturas torſerit*,&c. And–*Scire eos volume nullius Patris authoritate cogi velle* &c. And—*Si nihil habetur quod dicatur*,

dicatur, ſatius eſt omnia negaſſe [i.e. in Patribus,] *quam concedere Miſſam* &c. –And—*Eruditis gratum erat* (ſaith *Melanchon*) *quaſi ex tenebris educi Chriſtum, Prophetas, Apoſtolos*, &c. See before §. 5. And of theſe his new Doctrines and Expoſitions *Luther* ſaith §.24. —*Illum ſe aut ſuam doctrinam Epiſcoporum, aut ullius Angeli de Cœlo ſubjicere judicio non dignari; ſatis nunc datum eſſe ſtultæ huic humilitati.* See before §. 16. And —*Si nos ruimus, ruit Chriſtus unà.* And *Zuinglius* obſerves of him, —*Clandeſtinum effugium ſibi hoc modo præparat, Si ſeductus aut falſus ſum, Deus me ſeduxit, & fefellit.* (See before §.26.) Such language this as never any Doctor, or Reformer uſed before him, unleſs *Mahomet.*]

§.53. *Secondly*, In his coming not with the power of the Spirit, and Miracles; nor with the ſpirit of temperance, meekneſs, and patience, in worldly affronts; but inſtead of theſe, with the ſpirit of fury, defiance, and railing; as the other ſaid that he was ſent not with Miracles, but a Sword. [Hence that obſervation of the *Tigurine* Reformed Divines concerning his writings, —*Tanta ſelectiſſimorum convitiorum copia ſcatere, tanta verborum immodeſtia, fœditate, & impuritate turgere, tanto denique iracundiæ, maledicentiæ, furoris, & inſaniæ impetu furere, ut quotquot illum legere dignantur, non ſine gravi animorum ſtupore, infelix hoc, & inauditum hactenus exemplum admirari coguntur.* (See §. 31.) And §. 26. —*In omnibus correptionibus ſuis plurimum maligni ſpiritus, quam minimum vero amici, & Paterni animi deprehendi.* —And *Eraſmus* tells him in a letter, (§. 31.) *Se ſuo iſto ingenio tam arroganti, procaci, ſeditioſo, totum orbem exitiabili diſſidio concuſſiſſe.* And from ſuch fierceneſs obſerved in him to all diſſenters, it was, that *Melanchon*, tho his intimate friend, writes from *Wirtenberg* in this complaining manner to Mr. *Calvin*, (ſee §. 25.) –*Totos jam annos viginti expecto exilia.* And a ſpirit this was that never left him, but rather more and more poſſeſſed him; his laſt writings being obſerved to be the moſt violent.]

§.54. *Thirdly*, In his indulging Senſuality, and the naturall appetites of the fleſh, much pleading for the neceſſity of Marriage, holding an equality of grace and glory in all juſtified; and generally oppoſing thoſe formerly eſteemed Counſels of Perfection, and of a ſtricter life, (from which many imagine Proteſtaniſm, as well as *Mahometaniſm*, to have gained ſo great an acceptation in the world,) as Celibacy, Monaſtical Poverty, Abſtinence, Solitude, Obedience, long Prayers, *&c.* [Concerning Marriage urging frequently

quently *Gen.* 2. 18. —*Non est bonum esse hominem solum*; and God's command also for it, *Gen.* 1. 28. —*Crescite, & multiplicamini.* And §. 12. *Adæ filii sunt, & manebunt homines; hanc ob causam debent, & coguntur, iterum ex se relicto semine procreare homines.* –And– concerning other mortifications of the flesh he ordinarily slights them on this manner, (§. 3.) —*Ejusmodi sanctos diligit Satan, qui sua ipsorum corpora, & animas perdunt; qui defraudant, & privant se omnibus benedictionibus bonorum Dei.* And contends (§. 10.) That no man ought to lay a Cross upon himself, or to make choice of a tribulation. –And–*Illi insani* (saith he) *ignarique fidei prorsus, & spiritus, imperiti prorsus rerum spiritualium, conantur iis rebus, per opuscula sua frigida, jejuniis, vestibus, preculis, statis Monasteriorum carceribus, consulere.* Elswhere —*Crede fortiter* (saith he §. 3.) *te absolutum, & absolutus vere eris, quicquid sit de contritione.* And—*Baptizatus, etiam volens, non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis; nisi nolit credere.*]

4. In his attempting to degrade the formerly received head of the Church upon Earth, as the precedent Reformer *Mahomet* did, the Head thereof in Heaven; pronouncing him *Anti-Christ*, and the Church of God his *Spouse*; and so far befriending that his Predecessor, as to apply all those things to the chief Pastor of Christ's flock, which properly belong to that great false Prophet, whose steps himself follows. In his degrading also the former Clergy of God; declaring them (convinced herein by the Devil's Arguments) to have bin no true Priests, (see before §. 18); and setting up a new Church-Ministry of his own; and composing a new Ordination of Bishops, and Ministers descending from himself, (see §. 23.) And himself exercising the Episcopal function in Excommunications, *&c.* tho only a Presbyter: Abrogating the former publick Liturgy of the Church, and himself ordering a new one as he thought meet, to be used by all his followers, (a thing never attempted by any Reformer before him, except *Mahomet*); and lastly burning in publick the former Ecclesiastical Canons, as well those of Councils, as Popes; by all this, as it were, making himself the Founder of a new Religion, and an independent Supreme; and, as *Erasmus* told him, (which suits also well in this comparison with *Mahomet*,) *postulans tantum non pro Deo haberi*, (see before §. 31. *n.* 3.) suitable to which he authoritatively pronounceth of the other Reformists dissenting from him, (see before §. 25.) —*se nec eorum consortium recipere, nec literas, libros, salutationes, benedictiones, scriptiones, aut nominationem, intra animi sui penetralia* §. 55.

netralia admittere, nec visu, vel auditu dignari decrevisse. Concerning which former bold undertakings his Conscience often check'd, and thus reply'd upon him, (see §. 24. *n.*2.) *Impossibile est, quod Christus tot seculis Ecclesiam suam errare sinat. Tu certe solus non sapis plus, quam tot sancti viri, & tota Ecclesia. —Sic senserunt & docuerunt omnes primitivæ Ecclesiæ Doctores, viri sanctissimi, multo majores, & doctiores te. Quis tu es qui ausus ab omnibus his dissentire, & nobis diversum dogma obtrudere?* To which he answers, —*Si sanctus Petrus &c. aliter doceant, tamen hoc certe scio, quod humana non suadeo, sed divina.* —And—*Quisque videat, ut certissimus sit de sua vocatione, & doctrina.* (§. 24. *n.* 2.) So elsewhere about his changing the Mass, his Conscience thus suggests: —*Rem arduam* (§. 16.) *& quam forte sit impossibile convelli, aggredior; ut quæ tanto sæculorum usu firmata, omniumque consensu probata sic insederit, ut necesse sit majorem partem librorum, qui hodie regnant, & pæne universam Ecclesiarum faciem tolli, & mutari, penitusque aliud genus cæremoniarum induci, seu potius reduci.* To which his Answer is: —*Majori cura Verbum Dei oportet observare, quam omnium hominum & Angelorum intelligentias*; as if he had received some new illumination from heaven concerning a new sense of the Scriptures.

§. 56. 5*ly*. If I had a mind to extend this parallel any further, I might say; he resembled also the former Changer of Religion, in that he had his *deliquium's*, and swounding fitts [see before §. 32. what *Adams* saith, and what himself, —*Quo sane me quoque non semel tantum non perpulit*] as the other had; tho not ascribed by both of them to the same cause; one imputing them to the temptations of a bad Angel; the other to the visitations of a good; but yet of this Angel of *Mahomet's* no Christian doubts, that he was also a bad one.

§. 57. 14. The tryal of *Luther's* spirit (as before described) whether this were good, or bad, by the properties of these two spirits mentioned in the beginning of the discours.

If you please then, after all this, to review the *two* contrary Spirits described by the Apostle, and mentioned before, §. 1. you may from the precedents in this Discours, discern this person not to have bin possessed with the first, but the latter. Now the Rule or Mark that our Lord hath left to his sheep, thereby for ever to know, and avoid false teachers, is the fruits which they see them bear. *Beware* (saith he) *of false Prophets, that come to you in sheeps cloathing*, [like true members of Christ's flock and fold;] *ye shall know them by their fruits: Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs from thistles?* The meaning of which surely cannot be this (*Matt.*7.15.) onely *by their fruits*, i.e. *their doctrines* ye shall know the persons, whether they be true, or false prophets or teachers; or by their

doctrines

doctrines ye ſhall know whether they teach falſe doctrines; for ſo ſtill I have no direction left me whereby to know their doctrines to be falſe; yet for which their falſe doctrines I am warned chiefly to be aware of theſe falſe teachers. But the meaning thereof in reaſon muſt be, that by their fruits of an holy, or bad life, by the fruits of the Spirit, or of the fleſh which they bear, which fruits the ſheep do ſee, and can judge of, when they cannot ſo well of the doctrines; by theſe both the good or bad Spirit of the Doctor, and the truth or falſity of his doctrines, may be known.

First, the Teachers Spirit whether it be of God, or of the fleſh, and the Devil, may be diſcerned by theſe fruits. For if this Spirit be of God, the Apoſtle hath told us, (*Gal.* 5. 22.) that the *fruits* thereof *are love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs, continency*, or *temperance*: if of the fleſh, and Satan; the *works* or fruits are *fornication*, *uncleanneſs*, *laſciviouſneſs*, *drunkenneſs*, *revellings*, *hatred*, *variance*, *emulation*, *wrath*, *ſtrife*, *ſedition*, *envyings*, &c. Now Chriſtians, having once diſcerned thus by theſe fruits the Spirit of the Teachers, where they have ground of preſumption that it is a bad one, have all reaſon to ſuſpect his doctrine, and his reaſons, and arguments, and his expoſitions of God's word in confirmation thereof to be ſo too. *To be ſo too*, I ſay, where ever the Church doth not authorize and ſecure ſuch doctrine to them; for the Scriptures are of *no private interpretation*, i. e. not of every private man's interpretation out of his own brain; becauſe they are dictated by the Holy Ghoſt; and by the Holy Ghoſt, the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt in them can only be expounded. By the *Holy Ghoſt*, I ſay, either in the private Expoſitor, or the Church; in which the Spirit of God for ever reſides, and guides it into all truth; from which Church he muſt learn ſuch Expoſition, or with which Church he will concur in it; if he learn it from God's Spirit. But this man's new Doctrine entered into the world neither with Miracles, nor (if we conſider all ſaid) with the ſigns of a good Spirit; nor yet owned, or defended (nay alſo rejected, and condemned) by the Church. §. 58.

2*ly*. By their fruits of a ſtrict, and holy, or of a corrupt, and diſſolute life, are the truth and falſity alſo of Doctrines diſcovered. For firſt, as truth, and goodneſs, ſo error, and vice, have a moſt intimate, and natural connexion; ſo that I may ſay, if there be any doctrine, that really and naturally tendeth to produce in us more ſanctity and purity of life than the contrary; that moſt certainly §. 59. Where, 1. That *truth* and *holineſs*, *error* and *vice*, have a neceſſary connexion.

is truth, and the contrary error; and therefore is an orthodox faith so much laboured for, because it is the foundation of a good life; and therefore Satan becomes the Father of all evil in us, because he is first the Father of lyes to us. Tho then it be not here denied, but that a teacher of something that is false, may bring forth the fruits of a good life; and contrary, the teacher of truth, the fruits of a bad: yet 1. here the fruit of good life can never proceed from the false doctrine taught by the one; nor the fruit of a bad life, from the truth that is taught by the other. But the teacher of truth brings forth bad fruit from his lusts carrying him against the truth known by him: and again, the teacher of some errors brings forth good fruit from the truth which he possesseth; mingled indeed with error, but yet predominative thereof. But if he be such a Teacher of errors, as that the truths he holds (as none err in every thing) are, in the operation which they might have upon his manners, mastered, and seduced by them; here his life also must needs be corrupt; whether he be supposed to practise according to his errors, (as if he indulged some forbidden lusts because conceived lawful), or whether he practise contrary to them; for so he doth what is right indeed, but against his conscience; all acting against which, tho when it errs, becomes evil. Again, if he be a teacher of such errors as are expresly condemned by the Church, or, at least, as he knows to be so, whatever truths he may hold, or some kind of virtues practise according to those truths, yet his life in general can never be stiled holy, or himself good, because he wants the two fundamental and cardinal virtues of Obedience and Humility. Lastly, neither can a good man, teaching some errors, be so good, as if rectified in these, he might have bin; but that he must also be so far faulty, and defective in his manners, as his false opinion any way tendeth to the depraving and leavening thereof. This of the natural connexion of error and vice, as of truth and goodness.

§. 60. 2. That where more corrupt doctrines are believed, and taught, there for the general are found more dissolute Lives.

2*ly*. Hence it will follow; That tho (as hath bin said) it may not be affirmed, that where ever a dissolute and bad life is seen in a teacher or others, there it ariseth from their false opinions, or doctrines; because many times our life is evil, where our tenents are generally orthodox; and true Catholicks are sometimes bad men, from our lusts warring, aud carrying us headlong against our knowledge, and our faith; yet in any Sect, wherein more erroneous and corrupt doctrines are believed, and maintained, especially such as give more manifest liberty to the flesh, there for the general

ral muſt needs be more carnal, corrupt, and diſſolute lives; ſeeing that there are here both the ſame luſts warring againſt the Soul, which are alſo tempting the Catholick and Orthodox to an evil life; and moreover many groſs mis-perſwaſions and pernicious doctrines, ſiding with, and countenancing ſuch luſts, or at leaſt not curbing them. For if our luſts, even againſt knowledge, are ſo powerful over us; how ſwiftly will they move us, when our errors go along with them, and blow theſe Sails? This I ſay for the general. For as to particulars I do not deny, but that the life of ſome perſons, labouring under many erroneous principles, yet may be very regular, both by reaſon of other truths believed; which, tho this not obſerved by them, do contradict the other falſe ones, and may ſuſpend the bad influences of them upon their practice; as alſo by reaſon of an extraordinary good inclination of their nature, and helps alſo of God's reſtraining grace; for even amongſt the Heathen-errors have bin ſome perſons of an external virtuous, and unreproachable converſation, and therefore much more may they be ſo amongſt any Sect of Chriſtians, who cannot but have many Catholick truths mingled with their errors; and yet much more may they be ſo amongſt ſuch reformed, as have ſince caſt off, and renounced many of *Luther's* more malignant doctrines, and eſpecially his *Solifidian* error. Which Reformed methinks ſhould have a great jealouſie of the reſt that were taught by him, whom they have found miſcarrying in ſo fundamental a point, and that which was the firſt ſtone that he laid of the Reformation: (See before §. 3. *&c.*) yet ſo far may their other errors be rationally conceived to retard, and hinder even the very beſt amongſt them, as never to equal in ſanctity the lives of thoſe holy men, that enjoy the light and guidance of the Catholick Faith.

§. 61. The ſeveral bad fruits ſpringing from *Luther's* doctrine, that preſently appeared, and were confeſſed in his own time.

According to theſe poſitions, if we examin concerning *Luther's* Doctrine, what fruit it brought forth, and that in his own time, (for it becomes not me to make a ſcrutiny further, when it ſpread over Kingdoms; or to compare, and decide the holineſs of Nations according to their preſent various profeſſions of Religion:) if we enquire, I ſay, in his own time, what fruit it bare; eſpecially in reſpect of the four main heads thereof, in his groſs way of delivering of them; 1. The Nullity, and Antichriſtianiſm of the former Eccleſiaſtical Prelacy, and Clergy, and the non-obligation of their Conſtitutions and Laws. 2. The inutility of Works, of Penance, Mortifications, *&c.* 3. The Servitude of man's Will, and inability to good even in the Regenerate. 4. The ſole Sufficien-

cy of Faith in us for our Juſtification; and this Faith an aſſurance that Chriſt's merits are applied to us in particular, and that we in particular are juſtified by them; and that every one by believing he is juſtified, truly becomes ſo. To which may be annexed his holding a parity of future glory to all juſtified, and one in Heaven as great as another, without conſideration of their own different good works, or ſufferings in this preſent life. We ſhall find in the effect, (as in reaſon it could not be otherwiſe,) That out of the firſt of theſe (the band of Eccleſiaſtical Authority being diſſolved) ſprang immediately a multitude of Sects invading one another, as well as all of them the Church, many groſs Hereſies, and grievous Schiſms, and Seditions, even ſober Proteſtants being the judges here of; all which muſt needs be accompanied with a ſtrange ſpiritual or intellectual pride, in thinking themſelves wiſer men, and better interpreters of the Scriptures than their ſpiritual Superiours, than the Doctors, Fathers, and Councils of the Church, both of the preſent, and many former ages. And that out of the three latter, (people from them diſcovering no great utility, or neceſſity of our own, either penal or pious works) grew a great diſſoluteneſs of life on one hand, and great worldlineſs, and covetouſneſs, and its daughter oppreſſion on the other; as not believing, that the laying out of their goods here could purchaſe for them a treaſure in another place; but rather ſuch works of their own diminiſh their confidence in Chriſt's works, and ſo ruin their Juſtification, and caſt them out of the Evangelical, into the Legal Covenant.

§. 62. For theſe fruits appearing in his followers ſee the teſtimonies alledged before, §.7. and amongſt the reſt the witneſs of *Luther* himſelf; the thing he confeſſed, but the cauſe thereof he made to be the peoples, or their Reformed teachers ignorance, and miſtaking of his Doctrines; how truly this latter, let the indifferent judg by what hath bin here before produced out of his writings; for which review his propoſitions before §. 3. And ſee Dr. *Hammond's* deſcription of the natural fruits and effects, that muſt needs grow out of one of his tenents, the *Solifidian* error. *(Of Fundamentals. c, 13.)* The ſumme of which is; That, ſuch a one by his full aſſurance, as it excludes all fear and doubting of his eſtate, and alſo aſſerts the priority of ſuch an aſſurance and faith before his repentance or amendment of life, is fortified and ſecured by this one deceit from all obligation to ſuperſtruct Chriſtian practice, or holy living, upon ſuch his faith. For if aſſurance of his good eſtate be the one thing neceſſary, then nothing elſe that is diſtinct from it

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(as a good life is affirmed to be) is so. And if his estate be already safe, (and if it be not, then his believing it so is believing a lye) then it needs no supply from a good life at all to make it a safe estate, or to give him grounds to believe it such. Nor if he be justified before he amends his life, can this hinder the continuing of his Justification, or intercept his Salvation, if he shall never amend it, especially, when it is said by them, that the once justified can never be unjustified. Nor will this amendment and good life be necessary, tho not to his Justification, yet to the approving of it, or of his faith to himself, or others; because his faith being a full assurance includes this approbation of his Justification to himself: and the approbation of it to others must needs be a thing extrinsecal and impertinent to his Justification, nor can man's disapproving it any way annull it. *&c.* See the Author. Again, For the multiplying of Sects, by throwing off the yoke of Ecclesiastical Government, (without casting off which *Luther* could not have made way for his own Sect; nor could he find any reason, he doing no miracles, whereby to stop this gap made by him to all men besides himself,) *Luther* acknowledged no less than *twenty* sprung up in his own days, (see §. 22.) One of them concerning the ten Commandements; that they ought to be taken out of the Church, (and indeed all the use of the observance of them that *Luther* taught, was only for signs and testimonies of a true faith: *Ex operibus te Deus judicabit* (saith he,) *id est, si credideris.* See before §. 3.) And another of them concerning a fained faith: of which new doctrine he saith, that it was —*pejor omni errore, qui ante hoc tempus unquam fuit.* (See before §. 7.) And by reason of these Sects following his Reformation so close at the heels, and in some piece or other thereof supplanting it, he often foretold that the true Religion [i.e. *his*] should not continue long after his death; [*but if so, it cannot be the true Religion, for against this we are certain the Gates of Hell shall never prevail, or Sects abolish it.*] See his *Colloquies c.* 44. *of Seducers.* '—Who would have thought (*saith he*) of that mischievous Sect, 'the *Antinomians?* I have out-lived and endured three abomina-, ble tempests, *Munster*, the *Antinomians*, and the *Anabaptists*. Now 'seeing they are stilled, and gone, [*no such matter,*] others do ap-'proach, insomuch that there will be no end in writing, [*how should 'there, where no Judg to decide matters?*] I desire no longer to live. 'for there is no more hope of peace. Ancient *Bernard* said well: 'We should preach of four particulars; of Virtues, of Vices, of Re-'wards, and Punishments. [*And lay the preaching of* sola fides *aside.*] And in his Comment on *Gen.* published not long before his death;

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(See §. 12.) *Quantum Sectarum* (ſaith he) *excitavit Satan nobis viventibus? Quid futurum eſt nobis mortuis?* —And again —*Muncerus* &c. *nihil aliud niſi ſpiritum ſonant, idque nobis viventibus, docentibus, & repugnantibus; quid futurum eſt, cum conticuerit noſtra doctrina?* And not unlike Suſpicions of Poſterity hath *Calvin* upon the like experience of the multiplying of Subſects, where no reſtraint by Authority. (*Præfat. Catechiſm. Geneven.*) —*De poſteritate* (ſaith he) *ego ſic ſum anxius, ut tamen vix cogitare audeam: niſi enim mirabiliter Deus de cælo ſuccurrerit, videre mihi videor extremam barbariem impendere orbi. Atque utinam non paulo poſt ſentiant filii noſtri fuiſſe hoc verum potius vaticinium, quam conjecturam:* 'Concerning 'Poſterity I have ſuch anxious thoughts, as indeed to dread the 'very thoughts thereof. For unleſs Almighty God from Heaven 'wonderfully prevent, I ſeem to forſee extream barbarity [*as to a 'Chriſtian and Orthodox faith*] hanging over the world. And I wiſh 'our children, when we are gone, may not find this to have bin 'rather a Prophecy than Conjecture. *Thus he.* And who is there, that hath not obſerved the Reformation ſtill dividing into more and more ſubdiviſions, and fractions to this day; and the ſtating of the points in controverſy in their deſcent to poſterity, varying much from the former, (I ſay not whether to the better;) and by often handling ſpun much finer than the firſt groſs thread thereof, that was drawn out by *Luther?* As if the reforming were running ſtill more and more backwards towards the Church.

§. 63. The manner of his death.

Thus much concerning the doctrines of *Luther*, and the fruits thereof; and in general concerning his Life, Spirit, and Manner of Reformation.

If in the laſt place you ſhould long to know, what his *Death* was, after ſuch a *Life*, and in what manner he went off the Stage, who had filled the world with ſo many new Opinions, and Tumults; as I find the ſtory of it related by a Proteſtant, and a Friend, extant in *Cocleus* his *Acta & Scripta Lutheri*, (where alſo is exhibited another ſtory written by a Catholick much different;) It hath indeed ſome circumſtances in it which one would not wiſh for himſelf, tho yet which may alſo happen to a good man. For it ſurprized him at a time of much mirth, and feaſting, when aged now 63. years he was in great ſtate ſent for, and attended with above 100 horſemen to *Iſlebium*, the place of his Birth, and habitation of his Kindred, for compounding ſome differences, not in Eccleſiaſtical, (unleſs it were about ſharing ſome former Church-revenues,) but rather ſome Secular matters between the Counts of *Mansfield* then

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at variance. Here after ſome three weeks ſtay, and having preached ſeveral Sermons very invective, as ſome of them againſt the Pope, Roman Clergy, and Monks, and the Church he had fallen away from, (as alſo one of the laſt books he writ a little before this journey bears this title,—*Contra Papatum a Diabolo inſtitutum*, 'Againſt the Papacy inſtituted by the Devil. See *Melch. Adam. vit. Luther. p.* 153.) ſo others againſt the newer Sects faln away from him, and his Reformation; (calling them *Tares* ſowen altogether without his knowledg,) one day in the beginning of *February* 1546, after he had dined with much cheer, company, and mirth, *non in ſuo hypocauſto, ſed inferne in amplo triclinio*, 'not in his 'private Stove, but below in a large Dining-room, (ſaith his friend in his relation,) before ſupper he complained of a great pain in his breſt; but this afterward being abated again, he ſupp'd in the ſame place, ſaying, —*Solitarium eſſe non adfert gaudium* [*i.e. hujus ſeculi*,] and, as his diſciple ſaith, *omnem excutiens triſtitiam jocis & facetiis.* But after Supper his pains returned, and after ſome reſt about one in the morning he fell mortally ſick, and was dead before three, and before the Phyſician and Apothecary came to afford him their help. He is ſaid formerly to have bin ſubject to ſome Fits, or ſwoundings, wherein he lay without ſenſe or motion, and theſe ſometimes to have bin cauſed by ſome moleſtations from the Devil. (See before §. 32.) The Catholick ſtory of his death (but I know not with what truth, being an enemy) reports that —*viſa eſt tortura oris, & dextrum latus totum infuſcatum*, 'his mouth diſtorted, and his right ſide turn'd all of a duskiſh colour. Some of his dying ſpeeches, related by the *Lutheran*, ſeem to have a greater relliſh of the Phariſee than of the Publican. —*Mi Pater cœleſtis* (ſaith he) *tu mihi Filium tuum dilectum Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum revelaſti; hunc docui, hunc profeſſus ſum, hunc amo*, &c. *Quem impii perſequuntur, calumniantur, criminantur que*: or, as *Juſtus Jonas*, —*quem abominabilis Papa, & omnes impii, vituperant, perſequuntur, & blaſphemant, ſuſcipe jam ad te animam meam*: 'My Heaven-'ly Father, thou haſt reveal'd to me thy beloved Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; him have I preach'd, him have I profeſs'd; him I love, &c. —whom the wicked perſecute, calumniate, and falſly accuſe; '*or*, —whom the abominable Pope, and all the wicked revile, perſe-'cute and blaſpheme, receive my ſoul. Whereas we meet with never a —*Miſerere mei*, nor humble Confeſſion of, or act of Contrition for, his ſins. That Epitaph alſo, if compoſed by himſelf, as it is ſaid, (*Pomeranus orat. Funeb.*)

—*Peſtis eram vivens, moriens ero mors tua Papa.*

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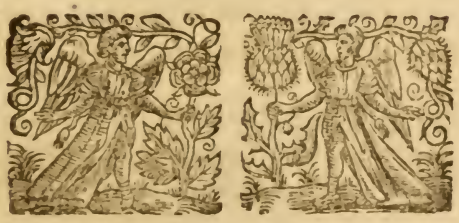
ſavours much of his, but not of a ſober ſpirit; nor his Prophecy therein of much truth. Thus much of the circumſtances of *Luther's* death in *Feb.* 1546.

Now, as I ſaid, we all wiſh a long preparation for our laſt end, nor eſpecially to be ſuprized therewith in a time of jollity and feaſting, we wiſh ſome ſequeſtration alſo then from Secular affairs, in which he was at that time much involved, and that not his own but others. But on the other ſide tis dangerous to cenſure any man for ſuch accidents which happen alſo many times to very good Chriſtians; and theſe alſo at their death have frequently diſcovered an holy confidence in God. Not unfrequently alſo the chief Authors of Sects and Hereſies have nothing in their life or death exorbitant, or monſtrous, or much differing from other ſorts of men. Of which perhaps one reaſon of the Divine Providence ſo diſpoſing things may be, becauſe ſeeing that it is meet that Hereſies be, ſo alſo that theſe receive no check or blaſting in their firſt growth by any extraordinary diſaſters, or judgments ſhewed upon the Founders; when-as God hath otherwiſe left evidences and arguments (ſuch as, I ſupoſe, are ſome of thoſe fore-mentioned in this Diſcourſe) ſufficient to deter the conſiderative and ſober from embracing ſuch new Doctrines, or following ſuch Leaders.

FINIS.

A DISCOURSE
CONCERNING THE
CELIBACY
OF THE
CLERGY.



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Ambrof. de Viduis.

—*Scit Creator omnium affectus esse varios singulorum; & ideo præmiis virtutem provocavit, non infirmitatem vinculis alligavit.* —*Sunt spadones, qui se castraverunt* &c: *sed hoc non omnibus imperatur, sed ab omnibus flagitatur.* –De Virginibus 3. l. —*Dominus, qui sciret prædicandam omnibus integritatem, imitandam paucis, Non omnes* (inquit) *capiunt verbum istud.*

Hierom contra Vigilantium 2. Ep.

—*Exortus est subito* Vigilantius, *qui damnandas dicat esse vigilias,* &c. *continentiam hæresin; pudicitiam, libidinis seminarium dicat* &c. (*dicat*) —*proh nefas! Episcopos sui dicitur sceleris habere consortes* &c. *qui nisi prægnantes uxores viderint Clericorum,* &c. *Christi Sacramenta non tribuunt. Quid facient Orientis Ecclesiæ? Quid* Ægypti, *& Sedis Apostolicæ? Quæ aut virgines Clericos accipiunt, aut continentes: aut, si uxores habuerint, mariti esse desistunt.*—

Conc. Trident. Sess. 24. 9. Can.

—*Si quis dixerit, Clericos in sacris Ordinibus constitutos posse matrimonium contrahere, non obstante lege Ecclesiastica vel voto,* –*anathema sit. cum Deus id* [donum castitatis] *recte petentibus non deneget, nec patiatur nos supra id quod possumus, tentari.*

Bellarmin. de Clericis. 1. 18. c.

—B. Thomas *diserte docet, votum continentiæ esse annexum Ordinibus sacris ex solo Ecclesiæ decreto, ac proinde dispensabile esse,* –*quod ego verissimum puto.* Again, *ibid.* —*In tota Scriptura nullum tale extat præceptum,* [viz. ut Sacerdotes non ducant uxores.] –Ib. –*Ecclesia Romana multis jam sæculis permisit Græcis sacerdotibus usum uxorum, quas ante Ordinationem duxerant, ut patet ex c.* Cum olim de Clericis conjugatis.

CONCERNING CELIBACY.

I. IT must be granted, concerning *Celibacy*; That it is a *better* condition of life *than Marriage*, for prayer and fasting, and all other service of God without distraction, and so for gaining the Kingdom of Heaven (*Matt.*19.12.); for works of charity to our neighbour; for avoiding covetousness, worldly cares and impediments, (and this in all, not only in afflicted, times;) for enjoying our *liberty*, (1 *Cor.* 7.4.) which, when we can have, we are *rather to use* it. 1 *Cor.* 7. 21. See for these 1 *Cor.* 7. 1,8,26,32. to the 37,38. –*Lu.* 14. 20. –1 *Cor.* 7. 5.

§. 1. Celibacy a better state than Marriage.

II. *As there is a purity and holiness of the body, as well as of the soul,* (see 2 *Cor.* 7. 1. —1 *Thes.* 4.4.–*Jud.* 23. compared with 8. and 2 *Pet.*2.10,14.) opposite to fornication and uncleanness, [which uncleanness is more especially opposed to holiness than other vices, (see *Rom.* 6. 19. 1 *Thes.* 4.7.–*Eph.* 5.3.) and hath a natural shame and guilt upon it, which makes it seek privacy beyond any other sin whatsoever; (see the shame of our First Parents upon the first appearance of concupiscence, *Gen.* 2. 25. compared with *Gen.* 3. 10.)] and enjoyned to be observed in reference to Christ, he being now the husband of the body, and it his spouse, (see 1 *Cor.* 6. 20. compared with 13,18, *&c.*): *so* there seems to be *a greater degree of this purity* of the body *opposite to Matrimony.* See 1 *Cor.* 7. 34. and *Rev.* 14. 4. where defilement with women is opposed to virginity, as another defilement is opposed to matrimony; *Heb.* 13. 14. *the marriage-bed is undefiled*, that is, with sin; (for this was appointed, as for a means of propagation to *Adam* innocent, so for a remedy against fornication (1 *Cor.* 7.2.) to man fallen, and troubled with con-

§. 2. A holiness of the body as well as of the soul.

As a holiness of it that is opposite to fornication; so, that is opposite to marriage

concupiſcence) : yet the virgin's-bed, it ſeems, is more undefiled, more Angel-like in reſpect of corporeal purity : [*undefiled*] being oppoſed to an imperfection of chaſtity virginal, as well as to the ſin of luſt ; to the act of concupiſcence, as well as to prohibited copulations : therefore (hereafter) not to *marry, nor be given in marriage, but to be like the Angels of God*, is reckoned as a thing more honourable for the body. *Lu.* 20. 35. And concupiſcence, one cauſe now of marriage, and which, could it be remedied, the Apoſtle would not adviſe ſo many to marriage, was not known by *Adam* when perfect ; and was a thing, when appearing upon his fall, which he was aſhamed of, and ſought to hide, as his poſterity ever ſince do, thoſe acts, even of the lawful bed. To a higher degree (then) of this primogeneal virginal purity of the body I ſuppoſe that expreſſion relates, 1 Cor. 7. 34. *The virgin careth* &c. that *ſhe may be holy both in body, and in ſpirit.*

§. 3. To the married, on pious occaſions, forbearance of the acts of marriage adviſed.

And for this reaſon it ſeems to be, that we find abſtinence from the acts of (if I may ſo call it) lawful luſt adviſed (for the better performance of holy duties, or in times of humiliation *&c.*) even to thoſe, who are in the ſtate of marriage, (as doubtleſs conjugal chaſtity alſo hath many degrees in it, and in ſome men is far more pure than in others, and the permiſſions of matrimonial priviledges very eaſily tranſgreſſed). See *Exod.* 19. 15. —three days ſanctification, and not coming at their wives ; —1 *Sam.* 21. 4. —women kept from them about three days, and the veſſels of the young men holy, *i.e.* from their wives ; —*Zech.* 7. 3. where we ſee, that, in times of more earneſt addreſſes to God, this ſeparation from carnality was continued. Neither is this only Old-Teſtament-ceremonial holineſs : but ſee 1 *Cor.* 7. 5. a place parallel to theſe ; *Defraud ye not one the other except it be with conſent for a time, that ye may give your ſelves to faſting and prayer.* Where it may be noted, that as faſting hath no good correſpondence with the acts of the conjugal bed, (*ſine Cerere &c.*) ſo theſe alſo are as prejudicial to faſting, and its companions. And ſutable to theſe Scriptures were the Decrees of the ancient Church : —*Diebus orationis, & jejuniorum, & præparationis ad Euchariſtiam a conjuge abſtinendum.* And this, becauſe carnal pleaſures are ſome way or other always enemies to ſpiritual exerciſes ; either proceeding to exceſs, and ſo rendring us faulty ; or too much either heightening, or alſo debilitating our temper, and ſo making us undiſpoſed ; or dividing, and diverting ſome portion of that love, and of thoſe intentions to things inferior, which are always all incomparably beſt ſpent upon, and conſecrated to, God the ſupreme good. A-

Again, we find, after one marriage, the abſtaining from a ſecond both commended, (ſee *Lu.*2.36.) and, to ſome perſons, to wit, thoſe entertained in the pious or holy Services of God, or the Church, enjoyned: as appears in the *widdows* of the Church, 1 *Tim.* 5. 9. of whom it is there required, that ſuch widdow *have bin the wife of one man*; which words being capable of ſeveral ſences, either that ſhe have not had two husbands at once, or not two ſucceſſively; again, not two ſucceſſively, either by a divorce from the former, or upon the death of the former: ſeeing that no woman might have two husbands at one time, nor any women at all were allowed remarrying upon divorce; (ſee 1 Cor. 7.11.) it follows, that the Apoſtle's widdow muſt be underſtood to be ſuch, as had not had a ſecond husband after the firſt dead. For this injunction ſeems to have ſomething ſingular in it, the ſame caution being given no where to any, but only to Church-officers, and ſervants. Nor is it probable (as ſome againſt the current of Antiquity interpret it) that the Apoſtle here reſtrained only the admiſſion of ſuch a widdow as had cauſleſly turned away her husband, and unlawfully married another man, (which is granted was done ſometimes, but ſeldom and without any permiſſion of *Moſes* law; (ſee *Mar.* 10. 12.) or, as had many husbands at the ſame time, (of which there are ſome *rare* examples amongſt the heathen,) becauſe ſuch things cannot well be imagined (tho poſſible) to have hapned in the Church; or when they hapned, not to have bin ſeverely puniſhed with excommunication; as we ſee the inceſtuous *Corinthian* was. And the Apoſtle ſeems here rather to require ſomething of extraordinary example and goodneſs above others, in ſuch as were thus to be devoted to the Churches Service, and maintained by her Charity, than only to caution, that they ſhould not be of the worſt wicked amongſt Chriſtians. Which is further confirmed by St. *Paul's* diſpleaſure againſt thoſe Church-widdows that remarryed, *ver.* 11. And if this interpretation be admitted for the widdows, much more may it, upon the like expreſſion [*a husband of one wife*] for the Biſhops of the Church, 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. and for the Deacons, 1 *Tim.* 3. 12.

§. 4. Forbearance of ſecond marriages commended; in ſome caſes enjoyned.

III. Tho *Celibacy*, as it occaſions larger fruits of righteouſneſs to many, yet if a married condition alſo produceth the ſame, it hath no preheminence in this beyond wedlock: yet, as in it ſelf, it is a ſtronger reſiſtance of the luſting of the fleſh, and a greater ſubduer of the natural concupiſcence, which all have leſs or more; whoſe importunities it heroically repelleth, whilſt the married only

§. 5. Having a greater reward in the world to come.

only lawfully ſatisfies them; thus, it *ſeems worthy of*, and ſo to have promiſed to it, *a higher reward* and crown *in the world to come*, and is one of the eminenteſt of all the virtues; as not moderating, but ſubduing the moſt violent of paſſions. See *Eſai.* 56. 4, 5. where *Eunuchs*, who as *dry trees* under the law were much diſparaged, (*Deut.* 23. 1.) yet under the Goſpel have ample promiſes beyond thoſe who beget children. —See *Matt.* 19. 12. where the Kingdom of heaven being inheritable without it, the uſing of this means ſeems to be for ſomething ſingular in that Kingdom, as well as for the more eaſie or certain attaining it. But however this be, thoſe who grant *there* ſeveral degrees of glory, proportioned to thoſe *here* of ſanctity, muſt give the higheſt to Virgins; becauſe if ſuppoſed only equal with the reſt in all other graces, they are granted in one to be ſuperior. See *Act.* 21. 9. where *Virgin* ſeems to be a term of honor.

§. 4. Continency eſpecially neceſſary for the Clergy.

IV. *Single life*, being ſo advantageous for having our liberty (freed from any other conjugal fetters) to beſtow our ſelves wholly on Chriſt, and to wait upon him without diſtraction, freed from cares, and holy in body and ſpirit; ſeems, tho worthy to be ſought for by all, yet *ſo neceſſary to none* as to *thoſe of the Clergy*, ſo far as they find themſelves capable of it: that perfection, which others, as it were unneceſſitated thereto, attain by it, being their conſtant duty and profeſſion as it were; eſpecially, that; to *give themſelves unto prayer*, [1 Cor. 7. 5. —Act. 6. 4.] and *to wait upon the Lord without diſtraction*, [v. 35.] and to take *a ſpecial care of the poor*. Act. 6. 3.

§. 5. That it is the gift of God.

V. Tis plain, that *this Continency*, and the power of living a ſingle life, is *the gift of God*; both 1. ſuch a cool and moderate temper, and calm paſſions as do not ſo eagerly provoke and kindle the fire of luſt in us; and 2*ly*. the grace to be able to abſtain and quench theſe fires, when we are provoked, if we will uſe the means; and 3*ly*. the actions or means, which we uſe, by them to procure the grace to abſtain, (as prayer, mortifications of the body, avoiding all temptations, conſtant and diligent employment,) are the gift of God. For ſo alſo are all other good things ſaid to be, both natural, and moral, and ſpiritual; even all thoſe things which we have moſt in our power, and which our induſtry moſt procures; and the powers themſelves, and every action of them. So, to be rich, to be honourable; the condition of a free-man, or of a ſervant, *&c.* are the gift of God. See 1 *Cor.* 7. 17. —*Deut.* 8.

17,

17,18. –*Jo.* 3. 27. And if we cannot, of our selves think a good thought, much less refrain the most violent of our lusts, except from the gift of the Almighty.

VI. Taking this ability to contain, not for a power of being freed from all concupiscence, and from the first motions of lust; (for so none at all have this power,) but for a power to suppress these first motions, and quench these lesser sparks, before they break out into a flame, 1. either into fornication, therefore [*v.* 2.] *marriage* is opposed to *fornication*, as it is [*ver.* 9.] to *burning*; or, 2*ly.* into uncleanness, [*which uncleanness, contradistinct from fornication, is no small guilt, but every where marcheth along with it as its fellow in the catalogue of those sins that exclude us from heaven,* (*see* Gal. 5. 19. Eph. 5. 3. Col. 3. 5. 2 Cor. 12. 21. *&c. some kinds of this uncleanness being advanced above any other sin, except that* in Spiritum Sanctum; *see* 2 Pet. 2.10. Rom. 1.24. Eph. 4. 18,19. Rev. 22.15.] or 3*ly.* into morose delectation, fomenting first, and heating our selves by it, before we put it out, [see 1 *Cor.* 7.9. expounded by the 2.] in respect of which, virginal continency in several persons is less or more pure: *This power*, I say, thus understood, (*i.e. of being able to contain*, if they be not wanting to themselves, *is given to very many*; nay, *for some time at least*, to *every one*. For this I suppose granted; that whenever marriage, or the use of it, is unavoidably hindered, or by God himself also prohibited, there also is given by him the power to contain. And this happens in very many instances; before, in, and after, marriage. §. 8. n. 1. Given to very many.

For 1. before marriage, there being many ceremonies to be observed in it, many surprizals of lust seize upon youth that are more liable to it, when in an unripe age (of 12, 13, 14, years old perhaps), which for the present, that way, cannot be remedied, who many times may not marry without the license of their Superiors; as it happens to youth yet under the power of their parents, (to whom the Apostle allows a power in *disposing* of them, 1 *Cor.* 7.36. *&c.* and tis there to be noted, that he considers much more the father's inclinations, towards her single life, or marriage, than the virgins); and to servants, not yet made free from their Masters. Besides that, many other causes of delaying marriage may intervene, as when it is not permitted to any at certain times of the year set aside for humiliation; *Lent, &c:* So, when external impediments occur; as being in a journey, or imprisoned, or upon the Sea, *&c*, and in many other cases; and these happening most- §. 8. n. 2. For some space of time at least, to All.

what in the age too wherein concupiſcence is in its greateſt ſtrength; here, if ſome have not the power of continency, nor yet of the remedy, marriage, how will incontinency become a guilt?

§. 8. n. 3. 2. Again, in the ſtate of marriage, there is neceſſary power of continency always required in reſpect of concupiſcence toward any perſon whatſoever (notwithſtanding the many temptations the world preſents) ſaving one, *i. e.* his wife; and toward all abſolutely, when any ſicknes happens to that one party, to which we are confined; or when any caſual debility, tho never recoverable; ſo alſo, in all neceſſary abſence about the affairs of life, in journeys, in being taken captive by the *Turks*, or others, *&c*, we muſt allow this gift. Els how can husbands, when buſied abroad by employments, embaſſies, warfares, *&c*, be ſecure of the honeſty of their wives? or how can the State, who many times permit not their wives to follow them, lawfully make ſuch a ſeparation, by which they ſhall neceſſitate them to ſin? So, when the woman is menſtruous, and after child-birth, before ſhe is churched, at leaſt to thoſe that were under *Moſes* his law. See *Lev.* 18. 19.—20. 18. *Ezec.* 18. 6. which abſtinence in the birth of a maid-child was enjoyned for *eighty* days, almoſt a quarter of the year. See *Lev.* 12. 5. *&c.*

§. 8. n. 4. 3. And ſo after marriage diſſolved, we muſt allow this gift to all that are (juſtly or unjuſtly) divorced, who are prohibited under pain of adultery a ſecond contract, all or moſt of them; to the Biſhops; to the widdows fore-named. Add to this; that of thoſe that marry, few (if we examin things well) do it, becauſe they want the power of continency, but for other reaſons; as appears, in many forbearing marriage, as long as their places or other ſecular reſpects conſiſt not with it; and preſently, when quit of theſe, engaging in it: and in moſt, wedding after the heat and concupiſcence of their youth is already in the wane and declination. And when we ſee ſo many, without marrying, at length reclaimed from former vitious courſes, and becoming in a ſingular manner continent, we have reaſon to preſume, that God was not wanting to them, in affording the like power to them before; but they rather wanting to the grace of God, and to themſelves.

§. 9. That none from not exerciſing the act of continency, can ſay, he hath not the power.

VII. Since many that certainly have from God the power to contain, (as the divorced, the one party when the other is debilitated, *&c.*) yet do not, or with ſome difficulty (yea more than the never-married have, becauſe otherwiſe accuſtomed,) and not with-

without temptations to the contrary, do, contain; *none can gather* (neither the delinquent, or others) *from not containing, or from some difficulty therein, that he hath not power from God to contain,* unless also he use the means; nor, in using the means, can he certainly know it yet, unles certain that he hath used all the means, and in that manner these as he ought; (hence none can say, that any of those, who, vowing chastity, proved afterward incontinent, had not power to contain;) or if he perceiveth that as yet he hath not the power, yet knows he not, whether for the future he may receive it; as many do, that of debauch'd, without marriage, at length become chast. Therefore can none gather from an act of uncleanness or fornication committed by him, that he cannot have the gift of continency for the future; or that absolutely from one such experience of himself he is obliged to marry. But it remains still true concerning him, as well as others; that, as it is *melius nubere, quam uri*; so tis *melius continere, quam nubere*; if then at length he shall seriously attempt to quench such burning with prayers, solitude, fasting, *&c*, the prime and more noble, rather than by wedlock, the second, and much inferior, remedy.

VIII. It seems, *that he that hath, and yet doth not exercise, the gift of Continency, nor practise our Saviours precept or advice of Celibacy,* Matt. 19. 12. *doth not sin in so doing.* For then marrying, to some persons, would be a sin. Which 1. the Apostle saith, it is not, even to those, whom, upon the gift of continency, he adviseth to Celibacy. See 1 *Cor.* 7. 27, 28, 36, 38.—and *Heb.* 13. 4. 2. If it were; it would follow, (since there is no divorcement upon any such title,) that there would be a sin which a man was bound to live in, and having committed it once, to commit it always; and whether would not the children here also be illegitimate, where the marrying is unlawful. 3. Then Celibacy can be recommended to no persons in respect of any times of distress, (as *yet* we find it was by the Apostle 1 *Cor.* 7. 26.) since, after puberty, all men sin, either in marrying, or els in abstaining: for those who have not the gift of continency in the most afflicted times, ought to marry; and the other, in the most prosperous, to forbear. 4. Those, whom such supposed precept of Celibacy should oblige, must some-way certainly know it; els how can they either forbear, or repent of, a sin, which they know not when they commit. And, as soon as they know it, they are bound, either presently to marry, if they find they have not the gift of continency; or for ever to abstain, if they have: so that those who marry not, as soon as capable of mar-

§. 10. That he who having this gift doth not exercise it in living unmarried, sinneth not.

Whether the gift of continency (supposing it to be given only to some) can by them be certainly known.

marriage, and marry afterward, either sin in marrying then, or sinned in not marrying before. 5. But how any one can certainly know this gift in him, I see not. First, by what signs shall he know if he hath it? In being free from temptation? So none is. In overcoming them? But who foreknows the success of future conflicts? May not he marry then, if much tempted, to prevent sinning? May he not marry, unles he first burn? But then in marrying before burning, perhaps he hath the gift; and so sins in marrying. But if by the effect only of resisting, or yeilding to, a temptation, we know the gift; it follows, that none can know he wants the gift, but by (at least once) sinning, yet, to prevent which sin none may, first, marry. 2. Again, how shall he know if he have not this gift? by burning or any one act of any uncleanness? 1. None can argue from not exercising the act of continency, that he hath not the power, (as is shewed before §. 9.) till he knows whether this failing proceeds from the absence, or from his own ill managing, of God's gift. For that it oft proceeds from our ill husbandry of grace, is manifest in many of those mentioned before §. 7. who having certainly from God the power to contain, yet are many times very incontinent. If in this case therefore he should go and marry, having the gift, but abusing it, what *thus* would this be, but a multiplying of sins, the sin of lust begetting the sin of wedlock? 2. If thus, after any such uncleanness, all (as being denied the gift of continency) were obliged to marry, then all, who remain not in a pure virginity, would be sinners in a single life.

§. 11. But then; these are likewise fit things to be known; whether
n. 1. the gift once had may not aferward be withdrawn? for if so; at several times, to the same person to marry, or live single, may be a sin. Again, whether not being given at first, it may be given afterward? for then, after some act of incontinency we need not cast our selves presently into the bonds of marriage; upon the hopes we have, from our prayers *&c*, of recovering this gift: neither indeed is every one by the Apostle, after burning, bound to marry, (unless he find himself refractory, and unwilling to use the means to quench such burning, as well as to remove all occasions of this flame, apt from his temper, temptations, *&c*, continually to break out again,) because he is not by this certain, that for the future he may not by the grace, and other means used, be freed from ever falling again into this fire. Since many, after such burning, have attained, without marrying, to the highest degree of Continency. As S. *Austin*, after long incontinency, received this gift, so soon as he humbly, and earnestly, and mortifiedly sought it. Now

Now if this once be granted from what is premised; that marriage to no person (I mean in relation to his power to contain) is a sin, nor celibacy to any absolutely necessary; it follows, our Saviour's advice *Matt.* 19. 12. is not a precept or command of absolute duty to any, under pain of sinning if he not observe it; but only a Counsel of greater perfection, under the penalty (if I may so say) hereafter of a less reward if he not practise it. (See 2 *Cor.* 9. 6.) Note, that by *counsel* or *precept of perfection*, (where-ever this expression is found referring to *celibacy*, *abandoning of riches*, *&c*,) I mean this: The advising us of, and to, a means, whereby we may, more easily, and free from impediments, attain the diminishing of sin, and the increase of virtue and grace in us; in which greater purity from sin, and greater practice of holy duties and habits of grace, and not in the means prescribed, consists that degree of perfection, to which we by this means attain: which perfection also may, possibly, but not so easily, be acquired without it. §. 11. n. 2.

IX. Next: It seems also, to be a *counsel* or *precept* of greater perfection, not only to some particular persons, (as some others in the next place would limit it,) but *to all*; and that, tho every one hath not, (*Matt.* 19.11.) yet *every one may have this gift of Continency* (and so may practise the precept or counsel of celibacy) *if he* please to *use* those *means* and endeavours, upon which God gives it; and that every one may make himself an Eunuch, if he please, for the kingdom of heaven. (1). For, first, were it a singular gift gratuitally given only to some men; then, as we have shewed before, that it is necessary for those, to whom we hold it is given as a precept of duty, by some signs certainly to discern it, for their avoiding of sin; so tis necessary also to these to whom we hold it is given as a counsel of perfection, to know it, for their endeavouring to do that which may more please God; that such gracious gifts may not be bestowed in vain, and their salvation suffer much impediment; if men endeavour not, or their endeavour be not only in vain, but displeasing to God, *ne quis incontinentia laborans, dum cœlibatum appetit, cum Deo luctetur*, saith *Calvin*; and exposing them to sin, if God give not. §. 12. That tho all have not, yet all may have, the gift of continency: and that God denies it to none, at no time, they using the means.

Now the difficulties of discerning any such thing, see before: yet without discerning which (unless all be capable of this gift) there can be no alacrity in our endeavours; nor will any labour to make themselves Eunuchs. Especially, when one sees any evident signs, or also hath once felt the effects of incontinency, none should dare any further to defer marriage, or any further entertain any

endeavour of attaining this gift contrary to ſuch indications of God's denial of it to him; yet is this much contrary to the practice of many holy men. (2.) There ſeems no ſufficient reaſon, to make this grace, which is converſant about the ſtrongeſt of all paſſions, and the very root of ſin; upon which depend ſo many excellent advantages in ſerving God *&c*, (confeſs'd by all,) and granted alſo to be given to all, at all times, when the remedy of marriage cannot (as often it can not) be had; to make this grace, I ſay, when there is opportunity of marrying, then only, a gratuital grace given to ſome; others being denied it, tho never ſo earneſt after it. And thus to reſtrain this grace, only upon ſuch a pretence, becauſe tho denied the gift of continency, they have a ſinleſs way of ſatisfying their concupiſcence: when as indeed this appointed remedy of marriage (as it refers to incontinency, not to progeny) may argue only the difficulty in ſome, not the impoſſibility in any, of attaining this gift; and, being inſtituted for a help of our weakneſs, ought not to be made an argument of the reſtraint of God's goodneſs and bounty. Again; no reaſon, to make this grace only particular to ſome few; when as all other graces whatſoever, converſant about the like object, *i.e.* the moderating and ſubduing of our paſſions, are proclaimed to be general; and all men capable of them, who are not wanting to God and themſelves. So we do not ſay that any are neceſſitated to be immoderate in meat, or drink, or ſleep, in the love of riches, or honor, but, upon doing their endeavour, grace ſufficient to be given to all, to bridle the appetite, and maſter the affections; only the extremities of concupiſcence it is that we affirm ſome men are diſ-enabled upon any means whatſoever to ſuppreſs. When as mean-while it muſt be granted, that to thoſe ſingular favorites, to whom God pleaſeth to give it, it is, both gotten by means; elſe why are any ſaid to make themſelves *Eunuchs?* and preſerved by means: for none that have the gift (as thoſe who in marriage have their bedfellows ſick or abſent) are free from temptations, and do only by means and reſiſtance overcome them; which means experience ſhews to be powerful, not only for ſubduing luſt in men, but in the brute beaſts alſo. Whereas therefore there are two ſorts of God's gifts to us; 1. ſome to the obtaining of which is required our endeavour joyned or ſubſervient to God's both preventing and aſſiſting grace, or aid; ſuch as are *Faith*, *Hope*, *Charity*, *Patience*, &c. which, tho always God's gifts, yet may be ſaid in ſome ſenſe to be in our power alſo, in as much as we are to preſume, that God denies them to none, by his aid rightly firſt ſeeking and labouring for them. 2. Others

given

given *gratis* by him without any cooperation of ours, (tho we may also desire and pray for them. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1.) Note that there is not any other of those usually called *gratiæ gratis datæ*, (which are divided to every man as the Spirit pleaseth, mentioned 1 *Cor.* 12.) any way like unto this of continency. 1. They being not conversant about passions, or bettering our selves, but edifying and profiting others. 1 Cor. 12. *ver.* 7.— 2. Not by our means procured, or conserved, but conferred without our cooperation or endeavor; therefore we find no exhortations to the practice of them, as if they were in our power, as we find to continency: 1 Cor. 7. We find it not said concerning them, *There be Prophets that have made themselves Prophets*, or, *–He that can receive them, let him receive them.* 3. Those who have them sinning, if they be not used: the contrary of which is proved in continency. 4. Lastly, neither is there any thing said of continency, as restraining it to some particular person; which is not said of those other gifts, and graces of God of the first kind, as particularly of that of Faith. See 23. §. (3). Concerning the other great precepts or counsels for attaining perfection, as that in particular by quitting superfluous riches (and so by this, all the cares and temptations of them,) (of which may be said, what is said of marrying, 1 Cor. 7. 34. and *v.* 30, 31. compared with 29. –2 Tim. 2. 4.) so often recommended, See Matt. 19.21. presently after the recommending of continency, *v.* 12. and both of them to be done for the Kingdom of Heaven. See likewise Lu. 12.33. Lu. 3. 11.—6.35. –Matt. 5. 42. –Lu. 16.9.11. –Matt. 19.29. compared 27. (where, as we must grant, that, tho marriage be lawful, yet the continent doth better; so, tho possession of riches is lawful, yet he that parts with, and bestows, most of wealth superfluous upon the poor, doth better, than he that keeps or spends more of it upon himself:) Concerning this counsel, I say, we do not contend, but that all are capable of receiving it: and yet our Saviour, upon occasion of the young man's not receiving so hard a saying, and so difficult a lesson, seems to put the same difficulty in it, as in continency: for when he breaks out upon it, [*verily I say a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom* &c. and again, *Camels shall as easily be threaded thro Needles*, ver. 23, 24. see 1 Cor. 1.26.] he saith only, (if we well observe,) It is hard for rich men to receive this saying, [*go and sell*,] *i. e.* of parting with their superfluous wealth. For, be this hardness of rich mens entring into heaven, from their trusting in their riches, or from having continual temptations of excess, and fuell for all their lusts ministred by wealth; or from continual cares and distractions from them,

them, Matt. 13. 22. (which alſo he names, from marriage, 1 Cor. 7. 35): all is preſently remedied in receiving this ſaying, (yet fooliſh men take no notice of it,) *ſell that ye have*, [i. e. *ſuperfluous*,] *and give it away in almes*, (where the charity is not ſo much to others, as to our ſelves.) For in parting with his riches, he is ſure at once to part with his truſt in them, cares, temptations of them, *&c*; for no man truſts in, or is tempted with, what he hath not. I have ſtayed the longer upon this general offer of the gift of continency on God's part; becauſe the conceit of it as of a private gift is very diſcouraging (as we ſee by their practiſes, where this doctrine is taught,) for the attempting that heavenly condition of life (ſo much recommended by our Saviour, and St. *Paul*) after they firſt believe, that for ſome men no means can procure it; and then, by the ſtrong aſſaults of their luſts (from which none are free) believe that themſelves are ſuch. And hence, whilſt we are in ſuſpence, whether there be a poſſibility of it, or no, in reſpect of us, (as there is to none a poſſibility, who are deſtitute of the gift) we caſt all our care, not upon mortifying and refraining our luſt; but upon the obſervance of the Symptoms of this gift, and the ſeveral riſings and heights of our luſts, accordingly to ſhape to our ſelves that future condition of life, to which our preſent ſeems to lead us. And all this without cauſe, whereas we may make our ſelves what we are not; and God's providing a remedy for an innocent ſatisfying of that concupiſcence, which cannot (by our deficiency) otherwiſe be allayed, was by reaſon of our ordinary weakneſs, not of our abſolute neceſſity; to whom he (in ſome times) indulged a facile changing alſo of thoſe to whome men were joyned: but it likewiſe not for their neceſſity, but for the *hardneſs of their hearts*. Matt. 19. 8. —Whereas now it is a fruit of the Evangelical perfection, that husbands (by mutual conſent) do ſeparate from their wives (without taking others) for the Kingdom of God, (*Lu.* 18. 29. compared 28.) always ſecure of the gift of continency from God, (if reſolute in their endeavours of preſerving it): Elſe this would be an act moſt unlawful, which our Saviour makes ſo heroical, and promiſeth to it ſo great a reward.

§. 13. It ſeems therefore, that God, this gift being ſo advantageous to his ſervice, (ſee *parag.* 1.) and ſo common, (ſee *par.* 7.) not denied upon repentance and prayer *&c* to many grievous ſinners, after long contrary habits, without their uſing the remedy of marriage; that God, I ſay, denies not this power to any at all, who firſt have power over their own will; decree and ſtand ſtedfaſt in their heart;

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1 Cor. 7.37. resolutely undertake and offer this their singleness to God for such an end, as is so much approved by him; and then practise also the means conducing to it, which are observed (as abstinency, for example,) naturally to cure the burnings of lust, even in brute beasts.

Which thing to confirm yet further, both from the Scriptures, and from the primitive times of the Church: first, had God denied this gift to any, [1.] it seems that St. *Paul* could not justly have blamed the widdows, when some of them young, for remarrying; whose marriage, he saith, was out of *wantonness*, and that *they had damnation, for having cast off their first faith* and promise, (*i.e.* of living single, and attending wholly to those charitable duties *&c.*) which they had made to Christ, and the Church: but if God had not given them the power of observing their vow, the Apostle should have allowed their remarrying, and blamed their vowing; who ordered also for the future, that such young women should no more be admitted to such vows or duties, for publick service of the Church; not because they could not, but ordinarily would not, abstain. §.14.

[2.] Neither would our Saviour have recommended the like resolution and attempt, in those, who, he saith, *made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven*, Matt. 19. 12. if he would not also be assistant to them with his grace; as he approved their purpose, and design; to which also they were allured by his *Encomiums* of that happier condition. Nor would he have (and that in the general) commended those, who leave the pleasures of marriage for the Kingdom of God's sake, that is, for the better serving God in any way, (see 1 Cor. 7. 34,35.) or, those who have forsaken their wives, (*i.e.* by mutual consent, 1 Cor. 7.4,5.) see Lu. 18. 29. compared with Matt. 19.29. *There is none that hath left*, (or, every one, that hath forsaken,) *wife* &c. *who shall not receive* &c: *Forsaken*, i.e. as the Apostles did, in local separation from them, (see Matt. 19.27.) unless continency were a gift; which all pious purposes, using the means for conserving it, and intending God's glory in it, may presume upon. Tho, where we do not subdue our lust, S. *Paul* as much prohibits any long separation, as our Saviour here encourageth it. See 1 Cor. 7.5. §.15.

[3.] Neither would S. *Paul* have approved the same resolution in those, who could master so far their own will: 1 Cor. 7.37. who doubtless, what he praiseth in the father, who yet might be §.16.

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necessitated to go against his will, by the virgin's incontinacibility) he would much more have approved in the virgin. Neither is that *need* (*ver.* 36.) necessity absolute, as appears by what follows, [*do what he will,*] the *other doing better.*

§. 17. [4.] The prohibition likewise in the primitive times, (tho not in all Churches, that no married person might be admitted to sacred Orders, or that every one, upon these received, must separate from his wife, yet) that none single, when entring into holy Orders, (I mean of Priesthood) might afterward marry, shews the perswasion of Antiquity to be; either that continency was denied to none using the means, *&c*; or else, that, it being a special gift only to some, every one, before taking Orders, or making a Vow, might certainly know, not only, whether he had the gift for the present, but whether he might also persevere therein to his death, (forasmuch as concerned God the Doner thereof.) But here it is unintelligible, how such assurance can arise, only to some particular persons; nor can any direct, how such a special gift, not only for the present, but the future also, may be discerned. Meanwhile concerning the prohibitions and practice of Antiquity, see and compare together *Can. Apostol.* 27. —*Conc. Chalcedon. can.* 13. 15. —*Constantinop. in Trullo. can.* 6. 12, 13. compared *Can. Apost.* 6. In brief, you will find the issue to be much-what to this purpose: That no Presbyter may marry after his taking Orders, nor Bishop after his Consecration: That of those who, being before married, are admitted afterward into holy Orders, some Churches required that they should ever after (by mutual consent, [which was known before Orders conferr'd]) abstain from their wives; as the Roman Church: Some, that Bishops only should abstain universally; and simple Presbyters, only abstain then when they were to officiate; as the Greek Church. —See likewise Provincial Councils celebrated about the time of the *Nicene* Council, and approved afterwards by the *Constant. Conc. in Trullo. can.* 2. —*Ancyran. Conc. can.* 10. —*Neocæsar. can.* 1.— &c.

§. 18. But I think it best, for saving the labour of seeking, to set you down some of them: which you will find so clear, as that I think nothing can be replied to them. —*Apostol. Canon.* 27. *In nuptiis autem qui ad Clerum evecti sunt, Præcipimus ut, si voluerint, uxores accipiant, sed lectores cantoresque tantummodo*; not the higher Orders of *Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon,* &c. —*Conc. Ancyranum* (before the first Council of *Nice*) *Can.* 10. —*Diaconi quicunque cum ordinantur, si in ipsa*

ipsa ordinatione protestati sunt, dicentes, velle se habere uxores, nec posse se continere, (where *posse* is taken as expounded §.24.) *hi postea si ad nuptias venerint, maneant in ministerio, propterea quod his Episcopus licentiam dederit. Quicunque sane tacuerunt & susceperunt manus impositionem, professi continentiam, si postea ad nuptias venerint, a ministerio cessare debebunt.* [But note, that, *si protestati sunt*, is here said of Deacons only.] —*Conc. Neocæsar.* (before *Nice*) *can.* 1. —*Presbyter si uxorem duxerit, ab ordine suo illum deponi debere.* —*Conc. Nicænum can.* 3. —*Omnibus modis interdixit sancta Synodus; neque Episcopo, neque Presbytero,* &c. *omnino licere habere secum mulierem extraneam, nisi forte sit mater, aut soror, aut avia, aut amita, vel matertera. In his namque solis personis, & harum similibus omnis, quæ ex mulieribus est, suspicio declinatur.* Whereas might they have entertained a wife, neither would there have bin cause of such suspicion; nor would it have bin reasonable, nor safe, to deprive their wives of all Women-attendance or Society. As for the story of *Paphnutius* in this Council, [which makes so great a noise amongst us; so that this instance stands for a bulwark against all the other evidence, in this point, of Antiquity, (see *Calvin Institut.* 4. *l.* 12. *c.* 26. and generally all our writers,)] this is the All of it: That, motion being made by some in the Council, that the married Presbytery, (*i.e.* such as were married before made Presbyters) should after their Ordination be separated from their wives: [which separation the Greek Church allows not to this day; and of which the *6th* of those called *Canons Apostolical*, saith thus, (notwithstanding that the same Canons prohibit marriage after Ordination except to *Lectores & Cantores*:) *Episcopus aut Presbyter uxorem propriam nequaquam sub obtentu religionis abjiciant*: (Some conceive this to be meant, *without her consent; others, * not for cohabitation, but for maintenance only:) *Si vero rejecerit, excommunicetur.*—And *Concil. Gangrense*, because some held it unlawful to receive the Communion from a Presbyter formerly married, was necessitated to make this Canon. 4. —*Quicunque discernit, a Presbytero, qui uxorem habuit,* (here tis *habuit*, not *habet*,) *quod non oporteat eo ministrante de oblatione percipere, Anathema sit.*] That, such a motion being made, I say, *Paphnutius*, a Reverend Bishop, and a Confessor, tho never married, withstood it, saying, *Grave jugum,* &c. *neque a singulorum uxoribus fortasse eam castimoniæ normam posse servari.* But now mark what follows: —*Illud satis esse, ut qui in Clerum ante ascripti erant quam duxissent uxores, hi secundum veterem Ecclesiæ Traditionem deinceps a nuptiis se abstinerent; non tamen quenquam ab illa quam jampridem, cum laicus erat, uxorem duxisset, sejungi*

debere. The story is in *Socrates Eccl. Histor.* 1. *l.* 8. *c.* and in others from him: *Sozomen.* 1. *l.* 22. *c.* Judg now what cause there is, to urge *Paphnutius* for the marrying of the Clergy, after H. Orders received by them when as single. I go on. —*Conc. Romanum* under *Silvester*, in the time also of *Constantine* the Great, Can. 7. –*Nullum autem Subdiaconorum ad nuptias transire præcipimus, ne aliquam prævaricationem sumpserit.* —*Elibertin. Concil.* about the same time in *Spain*; Can. 33. *Placuit in totum prohibere Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, ac Subdiaconis, positis in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis, & non generare filios. Quod quicunque fecerit, ab honore Clericatus exterminetur:* Which Canon plainly shews; That at that time in the Western, tho not in the Eastern, Churches, not only marriage after Holy Orders was forborn, but abstinence from their wives, by those who were married before, was commonly practised; since he, who should do the contrary, was so highly punished. —*Conc. Arelatense secundum* under the same *Silvester*, Can. 2. —*Assumi aliquem in Sacerdotium in vinculo conjugii constitutum, nisi fuerit præmissa conversio, non oportet.* Two Councils, in which S. *Austin* was present, *1. *Conc. Carthag.* 2. Can. 2. –*Placuit & condecet sacro-sanctos Antistites & Dei Sacerdotes, necnon & Levitas* (*i.e.* Deacons *&c*,) *continentes esse in omnibus* &c. *ut quod Apostoli docuerunt, & ipsa servavit antiquitas, nos quoque custodiamus. Ab universis Episcopis dictum est, omnibus placet, ut Episcopi, Presbyteri,* &c, *pudicitiæ custodes etiam ab uxoribus se abstineant.* Hence S. *Austin*, (*Confess.* 10. *l.* 30. *c.*) speaking of his continency, before obliged by Priesthood to it, saith, —*Et quoniam dedisti factum est, & antequam dispensator Sacramenti tui fierem.* And *2. *Conc. Africanum cap.* 37. —*Præterea cum de quorundam Clericorum quamvis erga uxores proprias incontinentia referretur; placuit Episcopos, & Presbyteros, & Diaconos, secundum priora statuta etiam ab uxoribus continere. Quod nisi fecerint, ab Ecclesiastico removeantur officio. Cæteros autem Clericos ad hoc non cogi, sed secundum uniuscujusque Ecclesiæ consuetudinem observari debere.* –These were before the *third* General Council. —Add to these the *fourth* General Council of *Chalcedon.* Can. 13. —*Quoniam in quibusdam provinciis concessum est Psalmistis & Lectoribus*, (se *Apost. Can.* 27. quoted before,) *uxores ducere, constituit sancta Synodus prorsus cuiquam ex his non licere alterius sectæ accipere uxorem*, &c. Where tis plain, that other Clergy besides *Psalmists* and *Readers* might not marry at all.

§. 19. Hitherto I have kept within the times of the first four General Councils, to which we promise much conformity. I will joyn to these

these a Canon or two in *Constantinopol. Conc. in Trullo*, reckoned by the Eastern Church for a part of the *sixth* General Council, tho it was not consented to by the *Roman* Patriarch; Can. 6. —*Quoniam in Apostolicis canonibus dictum est, eorum qui non ducta uxore in Clerum promoventur, solum lectores & cantores uxorem posse ducere, & nos hoc servantes decernimus, ut deinceps nulli penitus Hypodiacono, vel Diacono, vel Presbytero, post sui Ordinationem, conjugium contrahere liceat.* &c. Canon. 12. *Jubet omnino Antistites, (i.e.* Bishops,*) postquam sunt ordinati, a propriis uxoribus secedere*: and here they take notice of the *6th. Apostol.* Canon, quoted before in the last §, and yet advance beyond it: *quoniam Apostoli (*say they*) cum fides incipiret, ad fidelium imbecillitatem se magis demittebant* &c. —Can. 13. —*decernunt, Presbyteros a prioribus suis legitimis uxoribus non separari, sed eo tempore quo sacrificant; & expellentes suas uxores pietatis prætextu, excommunicandos.* And this (say they*)* notwithstanding the contrary custom of the *Roman* Church. Thus the Council in *Trullo.* And ever since have the same laws and customs bin preserved in the Eastern Churches, as we may see in the Answer of *Jeremias* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in *Epilogo* to the Reformed, soliciting his approbation of their innovation in this matter, and remembring him of the Apostle's rule, *Melius est nubere quam uri,*— and his order, —*Oportet Episcopum esse unius uxoris virum:* to which he replies this; —*Proinde & nos illis sacerdotibus, qui in virginitate persistere non possunt, priusquam tamen consecrentur, & Sacerdotes* [*i.e.* futuri] *fiant* &c. *Ille autem* [*Sacerdos*, entring into Orders, or others vowing Virginity] *qui semel virginitatem professus est, virgo permaneat, nec jam illi ullam amplius licentiam post votum susceptum nubendi damus. Nemo enim mittens manum ad aratrum, & respiciens retro, idoneus est consequendo cœlesti regno.* [Here is Priests, after their consecration, or others vowing Virginity, for ever after denied marriage.] —This the modern law of the *Greek* Church; and if the prohibiting them afterward, makes them the more, who intend Priesthood, to take wives before, and so many of the *Greek* Clergy *de facto* are married, to enjoy this liberty more than for necessity; yet this is an abuse no ways countenanced by their Ecclesiastical Canons. Much less may we imagin that they are obliged by any such law (*ne periculo fornicandi se exponant*) to take wives before they may enter into this Holy profession, so contrary both to the Apostle's Counsel, 1 *Cor.* 7. and the Church'es former Injunctions, whereas even all secular imployments have at least the liberty of a single life; and the Reformed themselves, so great friends to marriage, yet impose no such yoke upon their Clergy, nor hath any

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that I know of entertained ſuch a fancy ſave *Vigilantius.*

Out of the *Canons* then recited above you may obſerve, 1. That the Greek Church, who acknowledg and practiſe theſe *Canons* in this point to this day, allow indeed the uſe of their wives, except when they officiate, (but what if they officiate every day, as many Prieſts do?) to Prieſts married before Ordination, but not ſo to Biſhops; but permit not that any Ordained unmarried may afterward marry at all. 2*ly*. Again, That thoſe married perſons, who were to be made Presbyters in the Roman Church, and Biſhops in the Oriental, might not ſeparate from their wives without conſent, received from the wives before ſuch Ordination or Conſecration of them. 3*ly*. That ſuch continency was annexed to Holy Orders only by Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, and was rather *Lex Continentiæ*, than *Votum*: which therefore hath bin capable of many diſpenſations, and the *Canons* about it ſomewhat differing; and the Clergy more reſtrained by ſome of them than by others. But this ſeems to be a received ground amongſt them all in thoſe primitive times, that Continency is a general gift, at leaſt in *potentia remota*, *i.e.* which is by God denied to none uſing the means, and rightly preparing himſelf for it, *&c.* Els how could they prudently make ſuch laws, ſtrictly prohibiting marriage for ſuch a number of men, involving alſo the Deacons, and Subdeacons, upon penalty of degradation from their office, (which laws you ſee, the Reformed, becauſe they hold continency a particular gift, only poſſible to ſome, generally decry.) How could they allow of a ſeparation (by conſent once given) of a man and his wife for ever, required, in the Roman Church, of all; in the Eaſtern, of Biſhops; notwithſtanding what the Apoſtle ſaith, 1 Cor. 7.5? unleſs you will ſay, that the Church-Officers in time of Ordination could diſcern who had this gift, who not. Or, that there was no party coming to be ordained, or conſenting to ſuch a ſeparation, but was able to diſcern it in himſelf, and that not only for the preſent, but always for the future; and likewiſe that none would preſent himſelf, that knew he had it not.

§.20. Neither doth the Apoſtle's declaring from the Spirit, 1 *Tim.* 4. 1. *&c.* that *in the latter times there ſhould ariſe Apoſtates* &c, *forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats*, any way prejudice theſe injunctions and practices of ancient Church, (nor conſequently of the latter times, herein following only her example.) 1. Becauſe the Apoſtle, by oppoſing to ſuch error, that *every creature and ordinance of God is good*, (according to *Gen.* 1. 31. and

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2. 23,24.) and therefore being *sanctified first, by the word of God and prayer*, may lawfully be used, (see 1 *Tim.* 4. 3,4,5.) sheweth, that he means such Apostates, as abstain from, or prohibit, marriage and meats, as in themselves unlawful, and unclean, and contaminating. Which thing can neither be objected to the ancient, nor modern Church-practice, using abstinence from some meats for the chastisement of the body, not for any uncleaness in the food; and not forbidding marriage to any single person absolutely, but only upon his voluntary undertaking such an employment, with which they imagin a married condition not so well to sute. In which case if necessary abstinence from marriage be a fault, the Apostle himself may seem to comply with it in those expressions of his 1 *Tim.* 5.11.12. —2*ly*. Because experience hath manifested the Apostle's prophecy to have bin most eminently fulfilled in other persons of these latter times, (whom these Fathers even in these points most vehemently resisted,) affirming downright all marriage, especially with reference to procreation of children [therefore the married were advised by them, in such manner to use their wives, as to avoid this, (see S. *Aust. de moribus. Manich.* 18.*c.*)] to be unlawful, and the work or design of the Devil, as likewise flesh-diet to be unclean and defiling. *Animata abominantes interdicunt* (saith *Epiphanius hær.* 47.) *non continentiæ gratia, neq; honestæ vitæ, sed ob timorem, & imaginationem ut non contaminentur ab animatorum esu. Vino vero omnino non utuntur, Diabolicum esse dicentes.* —And S. *Austin contra Faust.* 30.*l.* 5.*c. Ipsam creaturam immundam dicitis, quod carnes Diabolus operetur fæculentio e materia mali.* —And *de hæres.* 46.*c. Non vescuntur carnibus, tanquam de mortuis vel occisis fugerit divina substantia. –Vinum non bibunt, dicentes, fel esse principum tenebrarum.* Such were some of the *Gnosticks, Encratites, Montanists, Marcionites*, and in the last place the *Manichees*, being as it were the last extract and quintessence of all those former gross errors, not a little potent even in S. *Austin's* times; who, not holding all things to have bin created by the same good God, but this lower world by an evil principle, or by the Prince of darkness, as they call him, affirm, in the begetting of a man, that the Soul, which they account to be a part of the substance of God himself, becomes fettered and imprisoned in the walls or handy-work of the devil, *i.e.* the body, from which it is again released only by death; (therefore was marriage, occasioning such imprisonment, forborn by all their elect; and tho this permitted to their auditors, yet (saith *Austin*) it was, *non dicentes non esse peccatum, sed peccantibus veniam largientes, propterea quod illis*

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necessaria ministrabant. con. Faust. Man. 30. *l.*) Likewise that the same part of God was continually more defiled, and enclosed by such and such gross nourishments of the body. And when of such errors they were accused by the Fathers, it was ordinary with them to recriminate the Orthodox with the same things; both for their frequent abstinencies from flesh, and some other fruits; and for their (to some persons at least) recommending virginity; who in this matter were answered by them after the same manner, as the Protestants, objecting the same things, are now by the Church of *Rome*. See concerning this the contest between *Faustus* the *Manichee* and S. *Austin*, (*cont. Faust. Manich.* 30. *l.*) and see concerning such Hereticks in the Church before the Manichees, *Irenæus adv. Hæres.* 1. *l.* 22. *c.* there, of *Saturninus* and *Basilides*, he saith, *Nubere autem & generare, a Satana dicunt esse. Multi autem ex iis & ab animalibus abstinent* &c. —See *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* 3. near the beginning. *Marcionistæ quidem dicunt malam esse naturam ex mala materia* &c. —*qua quidem ratione nolentes implere mundum, qui factus est a Creatore, volunt abstinere a nuptiis, resistentes suo Creatori* &c. —See muchwhat the same relation with that of *Irenæus, in Epiphan. Hæres.* 23. and 46. and 47. *Continentiam hic* (i.e. *Tatianus*) *prædicat, asserens nihil differre matrimonium a scortatione, sed idem esse. Hær.* 46. And the judgment of the Fathers commenting on this place of *Timothy*, applies it to the same men. See S. *Ambrose*, or the Author of those Comments in his works. *Doctrina*, saith he, *quæ nunc in Marcionistis, (quamvis pene defecerint,) vel Patricianis, aut maxime in Manichæis denotatur. Hi enim & Christum natum negant, & nuptias prohibent, & abstinendum a cibis tradunt.* —Chrysostom. *de Manichæis, & Encratistis, & Marcionistis, omnique illorum officina hic loquitur* &c. —After whom see Dr. *Hammond* on 1 *Tim.* 4. *note* b. and the authorities there cited by him. And in the last place consider what Mr. *Mede* himself (*Apostacy of the latter times, p.* 113.) granteth; namely, That errors about marriages and meats were no novelties in the Apostles own times, as the diligent Reader may easily collect out of their own Epistles: which makes it improbable, that he would specifie the apostacy of latter times in these alone. Thus much Mr. *Mede*. Neither will that expression [*in latter times*] (the like expressions to which are found in many other places; see 2 *Tim.* 3. 1.—4. 3. —2 *Pet.* 3. 3. —1 *Jo.* 2. 18. —*Jude* 18. —2 *Thes.* 2. 3.) carry the purpose of this prophecy beyond the days of these ancient Hereticks. For first, this expression doth not seem in the Apostle's drift so to indicate the future times, as altogether to exclude the present; they reckoning even

even their own times alſo a part of the *laſt* times, (ſee 1 *Pet.* 1. 20. *Heb.* 1. 2. *Act.* 2. 17. 1 *Jo.* 2. 18. 1 *Cor.* 10. 11.) and therefore, when they deſcribe ſuch wicked perſons, adviſing thoſe they writ to for the preſent to beware of them, to reſiſt them, to teach contrary doctrine, *&c.* See 1 *Tim.* 4. 6. *&c.* 2 *Tim.* 3. 14.—4. 2. 2 *Pet.* 3. 2. 1 *Jo.* 4. 1. Or, 2*ly.* if they do; yet thus, either we muſt free the Father's times from any ſuch imputation, as living before theſe latter times here prophesied of, (and conſequently in all future times we muſt abſolve all thoſe, who in theſe matters affirm no more than the Fathers did,) or, if theſe latter times involve the days of the Fathers alſo, (as Mr. *Mede* fancies them to begin about 360, or 410, (*Apoſtaſy. p.* 84.) yet in the ſame times we find alſo theſe hereticks contemporaries with, and much combated by, the Fathers. And therefore whether the prophecy (eying thoſe times) is likely to mean them, [i. e. *the aſſerters of marriage and meats to be in themſelves utterly unlawful and unclean,*] or to mean the Fathers rather, their Antagoniſts in theſe points, I leave to the Readers judgment.

[5*ly.*] The ſame perſwaſion, in Antiquity, of the univerſality of this gift to all ſeeking it, may be gathered from the vowing 1. of virginity, much uſed, allowed, recommended by them. Of which alſo we find ſomething in the ancient Councils. See *Conc. Ancyran.* before that of *Nice,* Can. 19. *Quotquot virginitatem pollicitam prævaricati ſunt, profeſſione contempta inter digamos haberi debebunt.* Here the practice thereof appears. —Conc. *Elibertin.* about the ſame time with that of the *Nicene,* Can. 13. *Virgines quæ ſe Deo dedicaverunt, ſi pactum perdiderint virginitatis, atque libidini ſervierint, non intelligentes quid amiſerint, placuit nec in fine dandam eis eſſe Communionem* &c. —Conc. *Romanum* at the ſame time under *Silveſter,* Can. 10. *Nullus Epiſcoporum virginem ſacratam maritali conſortio* (*i.e.* to receive the veil, and the ſolemnity of her marriage unto Chriſt) *expetierit benedicere, niſi eam probaverit* 72 *annorum eſſe conſtitutam, ubi probabitur judicium veræ pudicitiæ, ut in* 72 *annis requirens Virum Chriſtum pudicitia cuſtodita, uncta vertice introducatur ad nuptias Chriſti, velamen capitis ferens, non cordis,* (alluding, I ſuppoſe, to 2 Cor. 3.) This admiſſion was not, of her to vow at 72 years, who was *ſacrata* before, but of her, having ſo long faithfully kept her vow, to ſuch an honour as this ceremony imports. In this ſame time, namely of the Emperor *Conſtantine,* were ſome former *Roman*-laws, prejudicial to Celibacy, abrogated by him for their ſakes, who had vowed to keep their virgin-chaſtity inviolate. §. 21.

Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. 4. l. 26. c. —Concil. *Carthaginenſe* 3. Can. 33. *Ut virgines ſacræ, ſi privatæ fuerint parentibus, a quibus cuſtodiebantur, providentia Epiſcopi, vel Presbyteri, ubi Epiſcopus abſens eſt, in Monaſterio virginum vel gravioribus fœminis commendentur, ut ſimul habitantes invicem ſe cuſtodiant, ne paſſim vagantes Eccleſiæ lædant æſtimationem.* —And *Carthag.* 4. Can. 104. *Si quæ viduæ quantumlibet adhuc in minoribus annis poſitæ, & matura ætate a viro relictæ, ſe devoverunt Domino, & veſte Laicali abjecta, ſub teſtimonio Epiſcopi & Eccleſiæ religioſo habitu apparuerint, poſtea vero ad nuptias ſæculares tranſierint, ſecundum Apoſtolum, damnationem habebunt, quoniam fidem caſtitatis, quam Domino voverunt, irritam facere auſæ ſunt. Tales ergo perſonæ ſine Chriſtianorum communione maneant,* &c. And afterward. *De talibus ait Apoſtolus: Quum luxuriatæ fuerint nubere volunt, habentes damnationem* &c. Theſe two Councils were before the fourth General Council of *Chalcedon,* and both ſubſcribed by St. *Auſtin.* Laſtly, ſee *Conc. Chalced.* with which I will conclude; Can. 14. *Diaconiſſam non debere ante annos* 40 *ordinari ſtatuimus, & hoc cum diligenti probatione, ſi vero—poſtea ſe nuptiis tradiderit, injuriam faciens gratiæ Dei, hæc Anathema ſit cum eo qui in nuptiis illius convenerit.* –And Can. 15. *Siqua virgo ſe dedicaverit Deo, ſimiliter Monachus, non licet eis nuptiis jungi. Si vero inventi fuerint hoc facientes, maneant excommunicati.*

§.22. Again, in the Fathers nothing is more frequent, and that in the moſt ancient. S. *Ignatius in Ep. ad Tharſenſes, & ad Antiochenſes,* making mention of *Virgines Deo ſacræ* in his time. In the firſt, after *Viri diligite ſponſas veſtras,* &c. he ſaith, *Eas, quæ in virginitate, honorate ut ſacras Chriſti; eas, quæ in honeſtate viduas, ut altare Dei,* &c. In the ſecond, —*Populus ſubjiciatur Presbyteris & Diaconis. Virgines cognoſcant, cui conſecraverunt ſeipſas.* This in the copies approved by Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and Dr. *Hammond. Tertullian* and S. *Cyprian* before A. D. 300, writ Tracts; one *de velandis virginibus* (i.e. *ſacris,*) That they ſhould cover their faces with veils, *&c.* where he mentions *votum continentiæ —viderit ipſum continentiæ votum,* p. 200. –and diſtinguiſheth between *virgines hominum,* and *virgines Dei. —Ambiunt virgines hominum adverſus virgines Dei,* &c. p. 193. –and near the end he ſaith to ſuch *Non mentiris nuptam. Nupſiſti enim Chriſto; illi tradidiſti carnem tuam: illi ſponſaſti maturitatem tuam,* &c. And of thoſe who ſhould offer to pull off this veil, he ſaith; *O ſacrilegæ manus, quæ dicatum Deo habitum detrahere potuerunt!* &c. —The other, *de diſciplina & habitu virginum* (i.e. *ſacrarum,*) of whom he ſaith there: —*Quæ ſe Chriſto dica-*

verunt,

verunt, & a carnali concupiscentia recedentes tam carne quam mente se Deo voverunt,— and that they were *flos Ecclesiastici germinans* &c *gaudere per illas, atque in illis largiter florere Ecclesiæ matris gloriosam fœcunditatem*; and that those of them who afterward yeild to lust, are *adulteræ Christi.* —And see his Epistle to *Pomponius*, about some that lived unchastly, after that *ex fide se Christo dicaverant, sanctitati suæ se destinarant, propter regna cœlorum se castraverant*, &c. To these, that you may know that anciently also those who lived Monastick lives made vows thereof, (the contrary of which some endeavour to perswade us,) I wil add only two other testimonies: one out of S. *Basil, præfat. constitut. Monast. Nuptias velut compedes fugit; vitam suam Deo consecrat, & castitatem profitetur, ut neque facultas ipsi sit conversionis ad nuptias:* the other out of S. *Austin, in Psalm.* 75. upon [*Vovete & reddite Domino Deo nostro.*] —*Alii virginitatem ipsam ab ineunte ætate vovent* &c. *isti voverunt plurimum.* —*Alius vovet relinquere omnia sua distribuendo pauperibus, & ire in communem vitam, in societatem sanctorum; magnum votum vovit.* —*Nescio quæ castimonialis nubere voluit. Aliquid mali voluit? mali plane. Quare? Quia jam voverat Domino. Quid enim dixit de talibus Apostolus* Paulus? (*Cum dicat*, viduas adolescentulas nubere si velint,) *Quid autem ait de quibusdam, quæ voverunt, & non reddiderunt?* habentes, *inquit*, damnationem, quia jam fidem irritam fecerunt. *Nemo ergo positus in Monasterio Frater dicat; Recedo de Monasterio. Neque enim soli, qui sunt in Monasterio perventuri sunt in regnum cœlorum:* –Respondetur ei; *sed illi non voverunt, tu vovisti.* And concerning the married, by consent vowing continency, and obligation afterward for ever to observe it, see S. *Austin*'s 199 Epistle to *Ecdicia*. The argument of which Epistle I will transcribe you. –*Mulier quædam* [*i. e.* this *Ecdicia*] *inscio marito susceperat votum Continentiæ. Post tamen maritus assensus est, & continenter cum ea vixit, non sinens tamen ut Monachæ vestem sumeret. Tandem inscio marito facultates omnes duobus* [Monachis] *veluti pauperibus erogavit, cum haberet filium puerum ex eodem viro. Maritus suspicans eos Monachos esse ex eorum numero, qui penetrant & prædantur domos alienas, resiliit a proposito, & cœpit mœchari.*— Now in this Epistle St. *Austin* blames *Ecdicia* indeed, for all the things above named, which she had done without the consent of her husband, commanding her to submit, and ask his pardon, *&c.* but as to the vow of Continency, to which they had once both consented (notwithstanding his fornicating,) he holds them both for ever obliged to it, and exhorts her, at least, to perseverance therein. —*Quod enim* (saith he) *Deo pari consensu ambo voveratis, perseveranter usque in finem redde-*

re ambo debuistis; a quo proposito si lapsus est ille, tu saltem constantissime persevera. Thus He. As for other quotations of Fathers, I refer you to the Controvertists: instead of which I will set you down the confessions concerning them of *Calvin, Instit*, 4.*l*.12.*c*.27.*s*. —*Secuta sunt deinde tempora*, (he means after the *Conc. Nicen.*) *quibus invaluit nimis superstitiosa cœlibatus admiratio*, &c. *Hæc, quia videbantur reverentiam Socerdotio conciliare, magno plausu etiam antiquitus recepta esse fateor.* Now the reason, why he censures not the times till after *Nice*, is the story of *Paphnutius*, from which he gathers, those former times *Conjugium in Sacerdotio tolerasse*, not observing, or concealing, that it was only *Conjugium* contracted before Ordination. Himself mean-while condemning the Canons which these times approved; *quibus vetitum est, ne matrimonium contraherent, qui pervenissent ad sacerdotii gradum.* (Sect.27. & Sect. 29.28.) *Nulla omnino conditione dandum esse locum iis Canonibus censeo, qui vinculum Cœlibatus Ecclesiastico ordini injiciunt.* Concerning vows of single life, (13. c. 17. §.) *Hoc, inquiunt, ab ultima memoria fuit observatum, ut se alligarent continentiæ voto, qui totos se Domino dicare vellent.* His Answer. *Fateor certe antiquitus quoque receptum fuisse hunc morem: sed eam ætatem sic ab omni vitio liberam fuisse non concedo, ut pro regula habendum sit quicquid tunc factum est.* —And the confession of Pet. *Martyr de Cœlibatu & Votis.* —*Ut quod verum est fateamur, eos in hac causa habemus iniquiores. Statim enim ab Apostolorum temporibus nimium tribui cœptum est Cœlibatui.* And of St. *Austin* he saith; *Iste vir Dei scribit* (speaking of Vows) *ut homo deceptus.* Now the objections which are made, by the opposers of the law of Celibacy, for those entring into Holy Orders; or of vows of Celibacy, for other persons, out of the Canons of Councils, or the writings of the Fathers, are not against any thing here affirmed: but either, concerning some, who, having wives before Ordination, were not obliged afterward to abstain from them, (allowed still by the *Greek* Church, except to Bishops only), *or concerning marriages contracted after Ordination or Vows, that such are not *irrita*; of which opinion S. *Austin* is clearly, *De bono Viduitatis*, c. 8,9, *&c.* a thing granted by all after only simple vows; and after solemn, disputed still; whether such persons, who have so solemnly delivered, and made over themselves in a particular espousal to God, are made illegitimate for any Secular marriage afterward, *jure Divino*, or only *jure Ecclesiastico.* (See *Bell. de Monach.* 2.l.34.c. *sect. Respond: convenit.*—) For the Church hath always claimed much power (as being not restrained by the Levitical law, *qua talis*, but only by that of Nature, nor prescribed any thing by Christ) in

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ordering the matters of marriage; and in hindering some persons from marrying, (even not to making the marriage *illicitum* to be done, but *irritum* when done,) who are not restrained therefrom by the Divine law, or the law of Nature. See if you please the discourses of this in *Estius* 4. *sent.* 40. *d.* 3. *s.* &c. —28. *d. sect.* 4, 8, 9. * or, concerning those, who, after vowing continency, live in fornication and uncleanness, that such, notwithstanding their vow formerly made, had better marry than thus offend. Which is granted by all, after a simple vow: (hear what *Bellarm.* saith, (*de Monach.* 2. *l.* 34. c. sect. *Est autem.—) —Licet sine peccato contrahi nequeunt, tamen veræ nuptiæ sunt: & ideo aliquo modo minus malum est nubere post votum ejusmodi, quam assidue fornicari, tum ob fidem conjugii, tum ob prolem legitimam, tum ob alia bona,* &c.) * But let it be granted them after a solemn also: but if from hence they would prove the lawfulness of marriage after vowing continency, the places they produce will no way bear it. They are three, much pressed: one of S. *Cyprian, Epistola ad Pomponium* 62. *Quod si ex fide se Christo dicaverunt, pudice & caste sine ulla fabula perseverent; ita fortes & stabiles præmium viginitatis expectent: si autem perseverare nolunt, aut non possint, melius est ut nubant, quam in ignem delictis suis cadant.* The second of S. *Hierom, Ep. ad Demetriadem* 8. *Sanctum Virginum propositum & cœlestis Angelorumque familiæ gloriam quarundam non bene se agentium nomen infamat; quibus aperte dicendum est, ut aut nubant, si se non possint continere; aut contineant, si nolunt nubere.* The third of S. *Austin, de sancta Virginitate,* 34. c. upon that of the Apostles, 1 Tim. 5. *Nubere volunt.* —*Hæ igitur* (he speaks of those who have vowed chastity) *quæ nubere volunt, & ideo non nubunt, quia impune non possunt, (quæ melius nuberent, quam urerentur) quas pœnitet professionis, & piget confessionis, nisi correctum cor dirigant, & Dei timore rursus libidinem vincant, in mortuis deputandæ sunt.* &c. 1 Tim. 5. 6. —But in these places the Fathers, only of two evils, if one of them they will do, wish rather the less to be done; and prefer marriage, being in it self, tho not to them after a vow, lawful, before living in fornication, and other uncleannes, neither to them after vows, nor before in it self, lawful: therefore they say, *si nolunt continere,* or *perseverare, nubant.* Which marriage yet none at all allow lawful; namely to none who can keep their vows. As for the *non possunt,* they speak it not of them as no way able to keep their vow, (for then indeed I grant, marriage would be lawful, if the vow of virginity were impossible to be kept,) but of them as, by their own fault (which they may redress [therefore S. *Austin* saith, *nisi correctum cor dirigant,* &c.]).

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impotent. Which may clearly appear (to any who delight not rather to make the Fathers to contradict themselves, even where their speeches are most easily reconciled) both by the same Fathers allowing these perpetual vows, and their holding in all the possibility of continency; shewed before. Of which also hear S. *Hierom, (comment. in Matt.* 19. c.) upon [*Non omnes capiunt.*] *Nemo putet sub hoc verbo vel fatum vel fortunam introduci: quod hi sunt virgines, quibus a Deo datum sit, aut quos quidam casus ad hoc adduxerit: sed his datum est, qui petierunt, qui voluerunt; qui ut acciperent laboraverunt. Omni enim petenti dabitur, & pulsanti aperietur,* &c. *—Qui potest capere, capiat; qui potest pugnare, pugnet; superet, ac triumphet.* —And *adversus* Jovinianum 2. l. 19. c. to this Apostate Monk, who equalled a virginal and conjugal state, he saith: *Virgines tuæ, quas prudentissimo consilio quod nemo unquam legerat nec audierat, de Apostolo docuisti* [melius est nubere, quam uri] *occultos adulteros in apertos verterunt maritos. Non suasit hoc Apostolus, non electionis vas*; Virgilianum *consilium est,*

Conjugium vocat, hoc prætexit nomine culpam.

See S. *Austin* (*Confess.* 6. *l.* 11. *c.*) *—Putabam me miserum fore nimis, si fœminæ privarer amplexibus: & medicinam misericordiæ tuæ ad eandem infirmitatem sanandam non cogitabam, quia expertus non eram: & propriarum virium credebam esse continentiam, quarum mihi non eram conscius; cum tam stultus essem, ut nescirem, sicut scriptum est,* (Wisdom, *seu Sapient.* 8. c. 21.) Neminem esse posse continentem, nisi tu dederis. *Utique dares, si gemitu interno pulsarem aures tuas, & fide solida in te jactarem curam meam.* —(*De adulterinis Conjugiis* 2. l. 20. c.) *Solemus eis* [qui propter adulterium dimissis conjugibus suis, alias volunt ducere, & quum prohibentur, infirmitatem nobis carnis opponunt] *proponere etiam continentiam Clericorum; qui plerumq; ad eandem sarcinam subeundam capiuntur inviti, eamque susceptam usq; ad debitum finem, Domino adjuvante, perducunt. Dicimus ergo eis; Quid si & vos ad hoc subeundum populorum violentia caperemini, nonne susceptum caste* (*i.e.* in celibacy) *custodiretis officium, repente conversi ad impetrandas vires a Domino, de quibus nunquam antea cogitastis?* See the like in Psalm. 137. *Nemo præsumat viribus suis reddere quod voverit: Qui te hortatur, ut voveas; ipse adjuvat, ut reddas.* So other Fathers also. *Chrysost. Comment. in Matt.* 19. His datum est qui sponte id eligunt: *Quod ideo dixit, ut ostenderet, superiore nobis auxilio opus esse; quod quidem omnibus paratum est, si volumus in hac lucta evadere superiores.* Add to this that place of S. *Austin in Psal.* 75. quoted before §. 22. and that 104. Can. of *Conc. Carthag.* 4. subscribed by him, quoted before §. 21. with some others there

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to the ſame purpoſe, where they deny marriage lawful to Votaries, and Anathematize them. To which I will add that of S. *Ambroſe ad Virginem lapſam*, 5. c. *Quæ ſe ſpopondit Chriſto, & ſacrum velamen accepit, jam nupſit; jam immortali juncta eſt viro, & jam ſi voluerit nubere communi lege conjugii adulterium perpetrat.* —And that of S. *Chryſoſtom*, ſpoken by way of caution to young *Theodorus* deſerting his Monaſtick life. *Paræn.* 2. —*Honorabile*, inquit, *connubium, & cubile immaculatum. Sed tibi jam non eſt integrum jura connubii ſervare; cœlesti enim ſponſo ſemel junctum illum relinquere, & uxoris laqueis implicari, adulterii crimen incurrere eſt. Quamvis millies hoc ipſum nuptias voces, ego tamen & adulterio* (that is, the adultery of another man who hath not vowed, not his, as I conceive him) *illud tanto pejus affirmo, quanto major ac melior mortalibus Deus. Nunc autem nihil in te penitus tui juris eſt. —Nam ſi mulier proprii corporis non habet poteſtatem, ſed vir: multo magis hi, qui Chriſto potius, quam ſibi vivunt, ditionem corporis ſui habere non poſſunt.* So S. *Auſtin*, who holds not the marriages of Votaries to be null, or no true marriages, (ſee *de bono Viduitatis*, c. 8, 9, 10, 11.) yet ſaith in the ſame place, c. 11. *Non poſſum quidem dicere fœminas a propoſito meliore lapſas ſi nupſerint adulteria eſſe, non conjugia: ſed plane non dubitaverim dicere lapſus & ruinas a caſtitate ſanctiore, quæ vovetur Deo, adulteriis eſſe pejores. Si enim ad offenſionem Chriſti pertinet, cum membrum ejus fidem non ſervat marito, quanto gravius offenditur, cum illi ipſi non ſervatur fides in eo, quod oblatum exigit, qui non exegerat offerendum?* This in anſwer to thoſe places, wherein tis pretended, the Fathers held marriage lawful after vows; or continency to ſeem not poſſible. But the Apoſtle ſufficiently decides this buſineſs (at leaſt as the Fathers underſtood him) in 1 *Tim.* 5. who affirms his young votaries to have *damnation*, (*i.e.* great guilt upon them,) for breaking their former faith or vow by marrying. Now this denying of marriage, the remedy of incontinency, to all ſuch as have paſſed a vow, argues that the Fathers held the giſt of continency denied to none ſuch. Which if it be true, the only conſiderable objection (that I know of) againſt a Monaſtick life is here alſo removed. For as concerning the other two vows, * That (commonly called) of *Poverty*, provided, that one remain ſtill either poſſeſſed of what in humane probability is enough to ſupply him with neceſſaries, or have a trade or a profeſſion (amongſt which I reckon preaching of the Goſpel one) wherewith from time to time to get his living, (for the *labourer is worthy of his hire*, as our Saviour told his diſciples, when he ſent them abroad to preach without any proviſion), and may in reaſon preſume he ſhall receive it; and

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*That of *Obedience*, provided, it be engaged only for things lawful, about which lawfulness, when any doubt happens, he is to be guided by the Church'es, not his private Superiors judgment: (Which I think, in no Monastical institution that ever was, can be shewed to be peremptorily denied to any, for the ordinary plea of many of the Roman Doctors is contrary; namely, that no Authority less than infallible (which Superiors are not) can oblige to absolute obedience and submission to their judgment in matters credible or practicable in order to our salvation (See *Notes of Infallibity*;) Tho those who are under Authority are prudentially advised, rather to submit in all things to their Superiors (most likely) better judgments, than (with very little sign of humility) indulge their own; and causlesly afflict their Society with appeals and contests:) These two vows, I say, thus qualified, are not liable to any just exceptions. And indeed the former we see done frequently amongst us, in many parting for ever with their estates (only what is necessary reserved) to their Son: why not then to the poor? and the latter in Servants promising, or also swearing obedience to their Masters; why not to a Spirtual Superior?

§. 23. Neither is there (besides the examples we have of this vowing both in Scriptures and the Fathers) as seems to me any argument to be drawn from reason, why we may not presume on God's assistance, and enablement of us, to perform such vow; either because it is vowing of a thing not absolutely necessary to salvation; or because we are not certain of our ability, and command of our will, to use the means, which ability also we have not from our selves, but from God. For 1. are not most of our vows (yet these granted lawful) about things, which, as some way advantageous, yet, are not absolutely necessary to our salvation? as the vowing, * of abstinence from the further use of some sensual, tho lawful pleasure, formerly to us an occasion of sin; * of giving such a proportion of alms (suppose half of our estates) to the poor, (such a one was *Ananias* his vow, *Act.* 5. whose fault, so much aggravated by S. *Peter*, seems to be more in his keeping back part, after his devoting it to God, than in pretending, by a lye, to bring it all: see the inference ver. 3. *But Peter* &c.) * of using every day two or three times of prayer extraordinary; * of not drinking wine, because of many former temptations by it to excess. And 2*ly*, is not the performance of all these only by the power God gives us, (who cannot think a good thought, much less curb the least appetite, without him,) and therefore we give him thanks also for the performance

formance of them? 3. And again, make we not in baptism a vow of things necessary to salvation, *i.e.* of *repentance*, and of *faith*? but the expressions concerning which in Scripture are the same as those concerning continency. to wit, that they *are not given to all*: [See *Jo.* 6.37,39. 64, 65. –2 *Tim.* 2. 25.,–*Matt.* 13. 11. *It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given.*] Not as if God absolutely denied such a gift to them, but only upon their non-preparation, and other obstacles, which by their own fault hindred them from receiving it; for so our Saviour expounds himself in the next words, *ver.* 12. *For whosoever hath, to him shall be given.* In the same manner may it be said of continency; *non omnibus datur*; but *habenti* (i.e. to men using those endeavors and preparations towards it, which God hath given them power to use) *dabitur*. (*Jo.* 12. 39.—*Eph.* 2.8. compared 2 *Thes.* 3. 2. *Act.* 13. 48.) For which expressions if we make the vow of continency unlawful, why not the other? Now who is there that may not lawfully vow, to repent of his sins, to believe in God to his lives end, to observe God's commands, *&c*? (118.*Ps.* 106. 108. *v.*) yet as S. *Austin* saith, *Nemo præsumat viribus suis reddere quod voverit. Qui te hortatur ut voveas, ipse adjuvat ut reddas.* [In Psalm. 137.] Here it is said; there is not the same reason: because Faith is a thing necessary to salvation, not so Virginal Continency, therefore we cannot justly have the same confidence, that God, surely not wanting to us in necessaries, must needs supply us also in superfluities. *Resp.* Doubtless, since God, as he hath commanded duty, so also hath advised perfection, as not in the one, so neither in the other, is he wanting in his gift, to those that seek it; especially the latter undertaking (as higher) deserving more encouragement. Else why is not [*petenti dabitur*] restrained also to necessaries? and why may a man lawfully make vows in other things, that he conceives profitable, but acknowledgeth are not absolutely necessary to his salvation, (as in the things mentioned before, as also in other rules of perfection, 1 Cor. 9. Luk. 12.33. Matt. 19. 29.) if he may not presume on God's assistance in such things only profitable, without which he is able of himself to do nothing profitable. 4. Again, I know not why, if we may safely vow the keeping of any of God's commandements, and may make a *covenant with our eyes, not to look upon a woman to lust after her*, why, I say, we may not also, to guard our passion from being set on fire, and from burning; since the former seems to be the more difficult.

§.24. 5. To which this further may be added: That Continency, as any other thing advantaging us in God's Service, from Vows receives a much higher value, (which may invite us to such pious engagements) than without it; whilst it proceeds from an affection more confirmed and stedfast in good. A resolute vow having the virtue of an habit; and to act good, as it were necessarily, being Angelical: and he that vows offering up and sacrificing to God, not the act only of continency with others for the present; but the power or faculty thereof for ever; and the fruit, together with the tree that bears it. Therefore find we frequent exhortations and examples of vowing in Scripture: see *Ps.* 76. 11. *Jon.* 1. 16. *Is.* 19. 21. &c. And very expedient doubtless it is (after some trial and experience of our having a reasonable command over our selves, and of our not suffering a very tyrannical mastery of our passions) to pass a vow in such matters to fortify our selves against temptations, and the mutability of our inclinations; by which the less former tye we have of our selves, the easilier we are seduced. *Felix necessitas, quæ ad meliora compellit*, saith S. *Austin* of Vows.

As for those places of the Apostle which are urged, against vowing, at least before *sixty*, or for leave given to marry, tho it be after vows, upon incontnency; [as 1 *Tim.* 5.9. *Let not a widow be taken into the number under 60 years old:* —and 14. *I will therefore, that the younger women marry* &c. and 1 *Cor.* 7. 9. *If they cannot contain let them marry:* and *v.* 35. *I speak not that I may cast a snare upon you.*] In answer to them, I take this first for granted; that all those (young or old) who have the power to be continent, may safely vow it; since the reason given by the Reformed, why it may not be vowed, is, because it is a thing not in our power. Again, I say, that if these places prove, either that continency before 60. may not be vowed, or marrying after a vow may be lawful, upon this reason, because some persons before *sixty*, and after vowing, cannot contain; then the Apostle will be made to contradict himself. For according to this he could not say of the Juniors, (whose particular gift of continency he could not know, but had rather reason to presume, from the miscarriage he saw in them, that they had it not,) that *they had damnation*, for marrying; or for not keeping their vow or promise to Christ, which they could not keep; but *damnation*, for making such a vow, which they must necessarily break. For, *Non est peccatum violare, quod servare impossibile est*; and it was as lawful to break such a vow, as unlawful to make it. But yet notwithstanding this, the Apostle plainly saith, damnation they had for marrying, and for breaking this promise, not for making

ing it. I conclude therefore, that the Apostle's advice here of marriage is not * to Votaries, nor absolutely to all other younger women: for so his *volo juniores nubere* here would be contrary to his *volo omnes esse sicut meipsum*, 1 Cor. 7.7. and would lay an obligation on all young folks to marry: But *to those that are in such a manner qualified, as those were that miscarried: *so qualified*; not from want of power from God to contain, but want of will, and of a stedfast purpose to make use of that power, (as S. *Paul* describes it 1 *Cor.* 7. 37.) which instability of the will, and pronenes to incontinency (that is in some much more than in others) every one ought well to examin before they vow; that so they may make use of the lawful remedy, which in the second place God hath provided for it, namely marriage; if they do not aspire to the higher cure thereof by prayer, and mortifications. See Dr. *Hammond* in his Paraphrase, expounding it thus, [*That those who have not attained to such gravity of mind, and command over themselves, do, in that case, betake themselves to a married life*:] —So, in that text, [*if they cannot contain, let them marry.*] (Where note, that our Translation renders ἐὰν ἐγκρατεύονται, If they *cannot* contain; and so *Matt.* 19. 11. οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι, All men *cannot* receive this saying *&c.* without rule or precedent, that I know of: for the *Vulgar* hath it, *omnes non capiunt: & si non se continent.*) The advice is not, to any that have an obligation to contain, (tho actually perchance they do not so), as it is not to the married; tho one party be sick, absent, or impotent; nor to those who have vowed, it being proved, that such may contain, from the Apostle's saying, *they have damnation in marrying*; who yet actually *non se continebant*: But the advice is to those only, that are free from any obligation against marriage; that if they perceive themselves so affected, as that they have much temptation, and no stedfast purpose to contain, if they have gotten (which yet is by their own defect) so little power and mastery over their will, (which mastery is acquired by some pains and practice) as that they cannot (not cannot *possibly* but cannot *without much difficulty*) contain, (for we say we cannot do a thing, tho in our power, which we can hardly do): that then they should make use of the common remedy allowed by God for it. All which weaknesses, since they are by industry remediable, excuse none from continency, who have already made any engagement to it. To the 3*d.* place, 1 *Cor.* 7. 35. I grant a vow rashly undertaken to be a dangerous snare: *rashly*, I say, *i.e.* without well proving before it what mastery we have over our carnal inclinations. Lastly, for the admission of none under *sixty*,

the Apoſtle ſeems to preſcribe this age with reſpect to their impotency then to get their living, and liableneſs to want, (ſee *ver.* 4, and 16.) and to their ſtaydneſs and gravity, [ſee *v.* 13, 14.] as much or more than to their continency, in which a leſſer age would have rendred them ſecure. But ſuppoſe the Apoſtle chiefly to have reference to this, yet was it not done as if any leſſer age hath not a power of continency; or experiencing their ability to live ſingle, might not alſo reſolve it: but becauſe the Church had not the ſame means to be aſſured of their inclinations, and was much concerned in her firſt growth, after the experience too of ſome miſcarriages, thus to prevent all ſcandal. But later Church, upon experience of the chaſt behaviour of ſuch perſons from the power of more diſcipline, due reſtraint, *&c.* thought not her ſelf obliged by this rule fitted for the Apoſtles days. But as S. *Paul*, from the lapſibility of younger women, admitted them at 60: ſo the 4*th.* General Council of *Chalcedon*, Can. 14. *cum diligenti probatione* admitted them at *forty*.

§. 25. Yet it more difficult, than the matter of any other Vow.

X. As God hath encouraged us to ſingle life by recommending it; and denies the power to none at all, taking the pains, and uſing the means, that are neceſſary to procure it; So I grant, that the *act and exerciſe of Continency*, and purity, *is much more difficultly attained*, than any other matter of a *Vow whatever*; and the ſin, which the undiſcreet attempters thereof fall into, if they miſcarry, very abominable. Therefore is there nothing in all the Scripture recommended with ſo much caution, and putting men in mind of their own abilities, as this: which appears both in our Saviour's limitations, *Matt.* 19. 11, 12. and in the Apoſtle's proceeding ſo tenderly in this point, and with ſuch cautious and ſuſpended ſteps, (ſee 1 *Cor.* 7. 2, 6, 7, 25, 28, 35, 36.) tho much commending it, yet warily recommending it: looking doubtles as on one ſide at the heavenly perfection of this virtue, ſo on the other at the hainouſnes and filthines of thoſe crimes, and the great peril of thoſe ſnares, that men, avoiding, and obſtinate againſt, the common merciful remedy of marriage, were endangered to fall into, in an unmortified purſuit of this grace. More *difficultly*, I ſay, *is this grace attained*, both by reaſon of this ſtrong impreſſion made in our nature by the moſt wiſe providence, for the neceſſary uſe of propagation; and by reaſon of the concupiſcence of the fleſh; which, as it was the firſt exorbitancy appearing in *Adam*, (*They ſaw that they were naked*, Gen. 3. 7. being only a modeſt expreſſion of the riſing of concupiſcence; compared with *Gen.* 2. 25. therefore followed by ſhame); ſo retains it its ſtrength in all his ſons, beyond any other

paſſion

paſſion whatſoever: to which likewiſe one perſon (and in him one age of his life) may have yet a far greater pronity than another, by the greater heat of their conſtitution; natural impetuoſity of their paſſion; more liberal diet; much reſt and vacancy from imployment; converſation amongſt tempting objects, *&c.* ſo that ſuch, without extream difficulty, cannot contain, as it alſo many times happens even to them after divorce, *&c*, (who, all grant, have from God the power of containing, if they will uſe their beſt endeavors). And in reſpect of the great ſtrength of the temtations of luſt, beyond all other, and of theſe great impediments in ſome, more than in others, (*i.e.* the natural temper, age, condition of life, former habits, *&c*, and of moſt mens averſeneſs to undergo thoſe rigors and mortifications, which procure and preſerve continency, *&c*,) I conceive it is; that our Saviour anſwered his forward diſciples voting, upon his diſcours, that none ſhould marry; * that to *all this was not given*, and that *ſome only could receive it*; and ſo the Apoſtle by the ſame ſpirit, * *that every one hath his proper gift of God*, one after this manner, and another after that, 1 *Cor.* 7. 7. and * that there was a neceſſity to ſome parents of *giving their virgin in marriage*, (ver. 36, 37.) therefore he ſaith, *it is not given to all*, i. e. without ſuch pains-taking as ſome other gifts are; *Nor do all receive it*:] For tho power to contain is given to any who uſe the means, ſubdue their paſſions, *&c.* yet few there are, who can without much difficulty and reſolution ſo maſter their will, ſubdue their paſſions; few, who have a temper naturally ſo calm, or artificially ſo rebated, that they can arrive to ſuch a power. And ſo, *every one hath his proper gift of God*, &c.] *i. e.* Firſt, in reſpect of gifts of nature; men are of ſeveral tempers and abilities, ſome inclined more to one paſſion, as enamour'dnes, ſome to another; [*as continency*,] ſome more, ſome leſs, ſubject to be tempted; ſome fitted for one ſort of life, ſome another; which all yet are the diſtributions of God, (ſee 1 *Cor.* 7. 17.) So that ſome can more eaſily, ſome not without almoſt inſuperable difficulty, contain; for we ſay, we *cannot* do, tho a thing in our power, what we can *hardly do*, or which is very troubleſome to us to effect. See *Luke* 14. 20. 2 *Cor.* 8. 3.—Such phraſes are not unfrequent in Scripture, *Jo.* 13. 36. *Luke* 14.26, *&c*, to 34. *Jo.* 6. 65. ſpoken in things, of which we do not deny an abſolute poſſibility, whilſt by prayer *&c* may be attained ſtronger inclinations; but yet in them we ſuppoſe to ſome a preſent impotency, and impromptitude of their will, and waywardneſs of their inclinations; eſpecially where the thing requires a ſtrong *conatus*, and a ſtout ſpirit, as *Peter's dying*

ing for Christ; their forsaking friends, and all they had, for Christ. Luk. 14.26. and 33. *Their believing in Christ*, especially at that time, when appearing to them in such weakness of our flesh; none of these things (tho) being absolutely impossible to them. 2*ly*, in respect of gifts of grace *every man hath his proper gift of God*; some, superior; some, inferior, graces; some, Virginal, some only conjugal, chastity, (1 *Cor.* 7. 9.) according to every man's capacity, (*Matt.* 25. 15.) or endeavours: which not premised, the grace is not bestowed. For we must know, that God always gives not his habitual graces at first, but excites and assists our endeavors for them; and afterwards crowns these endeavors with them. And hence, because most do not well imploy God's former grace, (in which he is not wanting to those, whom he questions for want of the latter) the other happen to be given but to a very few. See *Matt.* 13, 11. concerning that necessary grace of Spiritual illumination, [*To you it is given; to them it is not given;*] and *Jo.* 12. 39. concerning faith; [*Therefore they could not believe.*] See §. and so *Mar.* 6. 5. concerning the favors of God, that he is ready to do for us, but we are uncapable of receiving; [*And he could there do no mighty work.*] In all which the deficiency is not to be understood to proceed from the want of will in God to give, but from the want of preparation in them to receive. (See *Matt.* 13.11. compared with 12. —*Mar.* 6. 5. compared with 6.) If they receive not, because God gives not; *Matt.* 19.11. and if God gives not, because they do not by prayer, and other means, prepare themselves for it; it follows, the prime reason, why they receive not, is because they are unmortified, or unprepared. Now the exhortation *ver.* 12. *He that is able to receive it, let him* &c. See *Mat.* 20.22. plainly supposeth, * that God gives it to those that are able; and the instance in some that *make themselves Eunuchs*, proveth, * that men also make themselves able; *able*, by God's concurrence, and preventing and assisting aid, or grace, from whom is all ability. Which ability also supposes that he gives to some, not others, only in the same sense as he gives faith, and other graces; (see *Eph.* 2.8. compared with 2 *Thess.* 3. 2.) yet notwithstanding, as all may both pray for faith, and upon their endeavor presume they shall receive it; and may promise and vow unto God to be faithful; so notwithstanding the former expressions (if no other reason be alledged) we may say the same of Continency; That it is a gift *attainable by all*, as it is a gift *by few attained.* Thus much concerning the grace. But 3*ly*, in respect of the faculty it self, and the using of it well, in our endeavors to attain such a grace,

grace, tis true alſo, that our being willing to do a thing is frequently called God's gift; and there is nothing, of which we can ſay, tis our fault or infirmity that we do it not, but that we may as truly ſay, it is God's gift, if we do it. (See *Phil.* 2. 13. *Jer.* 10. 23. *Prov.* 16. 1. *Ex.* 4. 11. 2 *Chron.* 18. 31.—10. 15.—*Ezr.* 6. 22. *Matt.* 13. 11.) Therefore alſo this our deſiring ſuch a grace to be given us, or our entertaining ſuch a grace offered us, is alſo in ſome ſenſe another gift or grace of God to us, without which we ſhould not have poſſeſſed his other grace; and ſo, our own endeavour, as well as the grace we ſeek for, is all gift and grace, tho we ſhould go *in infinitum*; till we alſo find (as the moſt ordinary doctrine of the School is) that the firſt motion of the will to embrace God's grace is alſo the grace, gift, or work of God in us: els if this motion of the will were from it ſelf, in any ſenſe contradiſtinct to that of being from God, then there would be ſome good in us, not from God; then ſomething, which we had not received; and ſo, place for merit, and boaſting; contrary to *Rom.* 4.2,4. -3. 17. But I conceive, tis not ſaid of theſe firſt gifts of God, (*i.e.* of his firſt excitings of the will; his both preventing and aſſiſting aids and helps of the will, in its uſing the means to attain his further, and richer, habitual, and inherent graces,) that *non omnibus data ſunt*; but of thoſe other ſecond graces, which are given but to few, becauſe the means, and his former commoner aids are uſed by few: of which it is ſaid, that, only *to him that hath, ſhall be given*. Of thoſe firſt aids therefore we may ſafely ſay, that they are ſo far common to all, (to whom is come the ſound of the Goſpel, and who ſhall be judged at the laſt day by the Goſpel) that it is their fault, in any duties, which are abſolutely commanded them, and their defect, in any counſels of perfection, if they, by not making uſe of them, come ſhort of ſuch duty or perfection; and, that any thing being thus ſaid to be God's gift hinders not, but that it likewiſe may be ſaid alſo to be in man's power, (meaning a power, in man, but, from God,) as long as the tender of ſuch a gift is made to him, and ability alſo to acquire it given to him. But of this more in my *Notes of Grace*. Yet ſince, there are ſome that allow not the means to attain faith, or other duties commanded, common to all to whom the Goſpel is preached, (therefore *P. Martyr*, 3. *claſſ.* 7. *c. Commun. locorum.* argues thus: *Magis videretur debere commune eſſe omnibus hominibus donum efficacis vocationis ad fidem in Chriſtum, quam donum ad Cœlibatum. —Sed inter illos qui eandem prædicationem audiunt, non omnes a Deo trahuntur.* Where he quotes Jo. 6. 44. *Nemo venit ad me*:) Let but ſo much be granted

granted from them, of the means to attain continency, as is, to attain faith; and this will serve our turn, without reasoning the point any further in this place; for then see what will follow §.23. In granting therefore, that the using of the means also to obtain graces from God is the gift of God; yet we affirm, that it is only by their own default (for which see *Luk.* 12. 57. *Matt.* 11. 21. *Mar.* 12. 34. *Matt.* 23. 37. *Jer.* 18. 4. —8. 10.) if in things absolutely commanded, and their own defect, if in things recommended for their greater perfection, that such do not use the means, and that they may use them if they will. Because these must consist together, *i. e.* * that *we can do no good* (small or great) *but from God*; and * that *we have free-will to do good*, and if we do not good, tis by our own default; and *that when we do any good, tis not without our own endeavour. Els we should be free from sin in not observing the divine exhortations; and there would be no vice, nor virtue; and consequently no (just) punishment, or reward. See concerning this S. *Austin, De Gratia & libero Arbitrio* 4. *cap. Nunquid non liberum arbitrium* Timothei *est exhortatus Apostolus, dicens,* Contine teipsum? 1 *Tim.* 5.23. —*Et in hac re potestatem voluntatis ostendit, ubi ait,* Non habens necessitatem; potestatem autem habens suæ voluntatis, ut servet virginem suam. 1 *Cor.* 7. 37. *Et tamen non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, sed quibus datum est,* &c. —*Itaque ut hoc verbum, quod non ab omnibus capitur, ab aliquibus capiatur, & Dei donum est, & liberum arbitrium* &c. Neither will this be sufficient to hinder a vow, because it is only of God's gift (that we are willing to use the means) to keep and fulfil it. For also we cannot do any thing he commands, unles he gives us the will; and yet may we vow to do any thing he commands.

§. 26. Therefore not hastily to be vowed.

XI. And in respect of these considerations, as all ought to endeavour and covet this the most happy condition of life, and many men are much wanting to their own perfection, the Service of God, and of the Church, *&c.* who, out of neglect to this gift, and not out of, or from, any strength of temptation cast themselves into the impediments of marriage, and might receive it, and do not: so I conceive it is *not so safe for any, who are not very well practised first in mortification,* and experience in much piety and devotion, *to vow it. Not safe*; not out of any diffidence in God, as if he would be wanting in his assistance proportionable to our endeavour; but in reference to the flesh, lest it should happen, in this chiefest piece of its strength, if we do not find that we have a strong command over

over our ſelves, to overmaſter us; and our good reſolution become a ſnare to us, 1 *Cor.* 7. 35. *beginning to build, and not able to finiſh.* In which S. *Paul*'s warineſs may be a ſufficient precedent to ours; who, * finding the young widows after ſuch purpoſes (by their own fault indeed) remarrying, and * conſidering the greatneſs of internal and external temptations incident to youth, (thro the indulgent diſcipline the infancy of the Church was then capable of, not ſo reſtrained as latter times have ſince provided,) ordered that none under *ſixty* ſhould be admitted into publick ſervice upon ſuch ſtrict bonds and obligations. And indeed in the buſineſs of continency, in which ſome degree of burning is in the moſt pure, it is very hard, till long experience hath as it were aſſured us, at any one time exactly to meaſure our own ſtrength, conſtancy, and ſtedfaſtneſs, whether we ſhall be able to contain for the time to come; and, by the intervening of new temptations *&c.* (unleſs we reſolve wholly to ſhut up our ſelves from them) our future, is not eaſily judged by our preſent, complexion. And as, when I look at the heavenlineſs of a ſingle life, I would adviſe all men to abſtain; ſo when at the great difficulty of ſuch a purity, as ſhall not be contaminated with one uncleanneſs, than which the Apoſtle adviſeth rather to marry, I would counſel all men to marry; [See *Conf.* 2.*l.* 3.*c.* how S. *Auſtin* complains of his parents not preventing by marriage the many exorbitancies of his wanton youth:] ſeeing the ſingle perſon much hazards a great ſin, whilſt he attempts as great a glory. But yet the zealous Servant of God *can do all thro Chriſt that ſtrengtheneth him. Nor ſhall he* in this *be tempted above his power*, 1 Cor. 10. 13. if he firſt tempt not himſelf; and the reward is well worthy the pains.

XII. *Tis not only lawful, but of ſingular benefit, that thoſe offices more neerly converſant about the publick ſervice of God*, or the Church, *ſhould be diſcharged only by ſingle perſons, wholly ſequeſtred from the world.* Which if the Apoſtle ſaw fitting in the miniſtring *widows*, the *Deaconeſſes*, (Rom. 16. 1.) how much more is it in the Clergy? Tho he, loth to lay ſuch a hard burden on the tender ſhoulders of the Infancy of the Church, therefore nouriſhed by him with *milk, rather than ſtrong meat*; * when there was not ſo much choice of Paſtors, and they of neceſſity to be admitted to ſuch functions much ſooner than the widows; and * when ſingle life and Eunuchiſm was as yet, eſpecially to the Jew, a ſtrange propoſal, (which may partly be the reaſon, why he, who *became all things to all men*, in the 1 *Cor.* 7. recommends ſingle life ſo modeſtly, and

§. 27. Yet not unlawful for the Church, and very beneficial, to reſtrain the ſacred function of the Miniſtry to ſingle perſons.

and after the way of delivering only his *advice and judgment*, (a phrase unusual in his other doctrines,) see 1 *Cor.* 7.6,8. compared with the 10, 25, 40,) restrained then the Clergy only to one wife. Yet (where there is sufficient plenty of single persons that are worthy, and not else) it seems no way unlawful or unjust, if the Church (which is * in this left to her liberty (for S. *Paul*, restraining the Clergy only to one wife, obligeth them not by this, to have a wife) and * hath power to establish what the H. Scriptures no way prohibit) shall ordain (which is a means to make many more zealous of this excellent gift) * that single persons only shall be admitted into such employments, or at least into those functions amongst these of the more eminency and moment; and if these persons should afterward engage in marriage, * that they shall no longer stay in the same office. Which wisdom, since the world frequently shews in many other places of less consequence, they cannot be excused for omitting it in the Church-affairs, to which it is most proper.

Neither do I see what hurt or scandal can come thereof; if only the Ecclesiastical Canons were strictly executed: 1. If none, but after long probation of their temperance, continency, gravity, mortification, were admitted into such sacred employments, (see what tryal the Apostle requires before such admission, 1 *Tim.* 3. and elsewhere, [*not a novice, lest he fall into the temptation of the Devil; one of a good report*, and found *blameless*; even the *Deacons to be proved, before they use that office*, 1 Tim. 3. 10.]) 2. If all necessary restraints from the ordinary occasions and temptations of incontinency were used to such persons after admitted. 3. If the Church'es censures were vigorously executed against the offenders.

Else, as Celibacy is better than Marriage, so Marriage is always honourable; but unchast celibacy, especially in the Ministers of Christ, most abominable, and for ever void of excuse. And even after such vows, (in which *petenti dabitur, nec patietur Deus nos supra id quod possumus tentari*,) yet if such a one will not contain, I conceive (supposing no Ecclesiastical law to intervene, which may render marriage to such, when contracted, invalid, or not to be a marriage) he sins much less in marrying; *i. e.* in doing a thing in it self lawful, but against his vow, than in fornication, *i.e.* in doing a thing eternally unlawful, being against God's command: for the one fault is against God's law, the other only against his own. And if some, in comparing marriage with some one act of fornication or uncleaness, may affirm the first to be more opposite to a vow, than

than the latter; a[illegible]ndring one uncapable of obſerving his vow at all for the future, which the latter doth not: yet in this all will agree, that even to a Votary the living in Marriage, than living in continual Fornication, or other uncleaneſs, is a life to God leſs offenſive. S. *Auſtin de Bono Viduitatis*, 9. *c.* —*Non quia ipſæ nuptiæ vel talium*, i.e. *voventium, damnandæ judicantur, ſed damnatur propoſiti fraus, damnatur fracta voti fides*, &c. —*Poſtremo damnantur tales, non quia conjugalem fidem poſterius inierant, ſed quia continentiæ primam fidem irritam fecerunt.*

FINIS.

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Deacons to

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